

THE MEMORIAL AT TUSKEGEE TO BOOKER WASHINGTON,
THE GREAT NEGRO EDUCATIONIST

From a photograph by the Author

THE MENACE OF COLOUR

A STUDY OF THE DIFFICULTIES DUE TO THE
ASSOCIATION OF WHITE & COLOURED RACES,
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MEASURES PROPOSED
FOR THEIR SOLUTION, & SPECIAL REFER-
ENCE TO WHITE COLONIZATION IN
THE TROPICS

BY

J. W. GREGORY, F.R.S., D.Sc.

Professor of Geology in the University of Glasgow

AUTHOR OF

"THE GREAT RIFT VALLEY," "THE DEAD HEART OF AUSTRALIA,"

"THE RIFT VALLEYS & GEOLOGY OF EAST AFRICA,"

"GEOLOGY OF TO-DAY," &c, & CO-AUTHOR OF

"TO THE ALPS OF CHINESE TIBET"

1925

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PREFACE

THE narrowing of the world by the improvement of transport in the last century has created increased difficulty in the relations between the different races of mankind. We are warned that civilization is endangered by the rising tide of colour ; and the progress of humanity is embarrassed by the rising tide of colour prejudice. I discussed some of the main issues in the Presidential Address to the Geographical Section of the British Association at its meeting at Toronto in August, 1924. The attempt to treat such complex problems in a short address was attended by the difficulty that some opposing evidence and important qualifications could not be mentioned. Some of the statements must have appeared dogmatic, and others due to ignorance of essential facts. Courteous criticisms in the American press have remarked the omission of reference to the northward migration of the Negroes, which was due to a second difficulty. The address had to be printed in June, and the information regarding that migration available in Britain was so contradictory that I withdrew the paragraph on that subject until I could make personal enquiries in the United States. In view of the imperfections inevitable in so brief a statement, I have adopted the repeated suggestion to treat the subject at greater length.

The discussion of racial problems in different lands involves the use of terms by which it is easy to give offence. In some parts of America members of the Negro race object to that name and prefer to be called People of Colour ; while elsewhere that term is applied only to half-castes. "Negro," however, is now being generally used in the literature of the race, and I therefore adopt it. For some reason "Negress" is so strongly resented—though the feminine suffix is not regarded as derogatory in Empress or Duchess—that I have avoided the word.

A few terms are explained by the following definitions :—

Negro—a member of the Negro Race. In the chapter

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on the United States the term is used for any person with a slight and sometimes even imperceptible admixture of Negro blood.

Coloured, or Person of Colour—a member of the darker sections of mankind, viz. Negro, Mongolian and Dark Caucasian. A “coloured person” is in some places of mixed blood.

Race, in reference to mankind—one of the primary divisions of the human family.

Hybrid—the offspring of members of distinct species, or in mankind of full-blooded members of two distinct races.

A Mulatto, e.g. as strictly defined, is a hybrid, being a half-caste of Negro and White Caucasian. A *mongrel* is the offspring of different varieties or half-breeds.

A brief visit to the Negro belt of the United States was rendered as instructive as it was vividly interesting by kind help all along my route. I cannot mention all to whom I am indebted for guidance and information, and at risk of invidious selection I would express my thanks to Dr. Laurence Buttrick of the General Education Board; Dr. Phoenix at Hampton; Major Moton at Tuskegee; to my guide at the latter, Mr. Washington, the son of its illustrious founder; to the Presidents and staffs of the University of Atlanta and of Fisk University; and to Mr. Emmett Scott and his colleagues at the Howard University, Washington. For opportunity to meet some leaders of Negro opinion I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Spingarn; for guidance and light in Tennessee to Mr. Wilbur Nelson; and for reference to literature and helpful advice to Dr. Isaiah Bowman of the American Geographical Society.

The two chapters on the United States are not intended as advice to that country, but to point out the difficulties there to those who have to face interracial problems elsewhere. As my visits to the States have been brief, I have referred little to my own observations, and have quoted from the writings of those who have had fuller opportunities for the study of the question. That I hold no brief for the Negro is clear from my feeling of the extreme difficulty of the problem caused by his presence—and the great importance of the separation of the two races.

One feature of especial ethnographic interest in the

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American position is the analogy of the laws against racial intermarriage with caste. When hearing of American proposals for the prohibition of miscegenation, the idea frequently recurred to me that we were possibly watching the first stages in the development of a system of caste. Its origin is one of the most uncertain of Indian problems, but the view that it was founded on race is one of the possibilities; and such legislation as that in Virginia, referred to on pp. 87-88, may be one step in the establishment by civil law of modern caste, similar to that by which Hinduism prevented intermarriage and social intercourse among the mixed peoples of India.

Some press criticisms of the address, and personal enquiries suggest the following explanations:—

(1) The figures quoted of the population of the world as it would be if it continued to increase as rapidly as in the last sixty years will never be realized. The figures are used to illustrate the certainty of increased severity in the struggle for existence, if the world makes no adequate effort to avoid waste and racial friction; but the trouble may be long delayed and perhaps avoided, if the nations of the world will co-operate in arranging for the best use of the vast areas of still wasted land.

(2) Some critics have failed to note that the policy recommended is not absolute segregation, but segregation in mass; the association of the races through individuals, including merchants, teachers, missionaries, political representatives, journalists, and travellers for the sake of research, has been of incalculable benefit. Individual interchange of knowledge and ideas and the national exchange of commodities should be encouraged and extended; but the personal association necessary for these purposes is compatible with the separation of the races in mass.

(3) I have been asked whether the view that the white man can colonize in the tropics claims that he is as vigorous there as in the temperate regions. Personally, my physical efficiency is lower in the tropics and at high elevations than in temperate regions and at moderate elevations; and my observations of miners engaged in manual labour show that this rule also applies to them. Reduced efficiency above 6,000 feet as compared with below 2,000 feet appears to

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apply—though alleviated to some extent by acclimatization—to any part of the world and to any race. The high-dwelling Tibetan is a vigorous person, but he is not the physical equal of the Zulu. Many of the objections to tropical residence based on personal experience appear due to the effects of altitude, which are independent of latitude.

Tropical lassitude and the condition “lulled by the languor of the land of the lotus” cannot be gainsaid. But this handicap is counterbalanced by the ease of life in tropical conditions; man’s needs are less in fuel, food, clothing and housing, while a given amount of labour will produce a larger and more valuable crop. The smaller physical vigour in the tropics applies to the coloured as well as to the white man; and it explains that greater material prosperity of the temperate as compared with the tropical zones, to which attention has been especially directed by Professor Ellsworth Huntington; but the fact is consistent with the conclusion that the white man can colonize the tropics if he be secured suitable conditions of life. Of these conditions the most essential is that all classes and qualities of residents in a country can be provided with remunerative occupation, which may be impossible for white workers in the presence of a large supply of cheap labour. The degeneration, physical and moral, due to such competition is the most serious danger from the association in mass of white and coloured labour.

On few problems do men living in mixed communities feel so deeply as on racial relations. There is a Chinese proverb—“Men do not live one hundred years yet they harbour the griefs of a thousand.” The accumulated animosities due to the continued discordant contact of alien races lead to embittering fears and to resentment at suggestions from dwellers under simpler ethnical conditions. But the issues from racial problems are so ominous and world-wide that it is worth risking censure. “If a cart is coming behind there is a track ahead” is another Chinese saying; and sympathetic constructive discussion of these problems should help the finding of the smoothest way through the interracial difficulties that loom ahead.

J. W. GREGORY.

GLASGOW, *October*, 1924

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The Menace of Colour

CHAPTER I

Introduction

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness”

The United States’ “Declaration of Independence.”

1. *THE RAPID INCREASE OF MANKIND.*—One of the pioneers in political statistics, Gregory King, calculated in 1696 that a population of 22 million would be the utmost England could support, and would be reached by the year 3500 or 3600—“in case the world should last so long.” He also estimated that the English population in 1900 would be 7,350,000. These egregious miscalculations are a warning of the uncertainty of statistical forecasts of population, and an illustration of its surprisingly rapid increase in the modern world owing to the application of science to commerce, industry, and public health. This accelerated increase has affected not only the European race, to which it is mainly due, but it has been still greater in Africa and Asia, where tribal war, plague, pestilence, and famine have been reduced by European administration. Between 1905 and 1911, to quote the latter half of the last normal decade, the population of the world grew at the rate of doubling in 60 years. If this rate were to be maintained, the 6,600 million people, which, it has been calculated, is the utmost that the world can feed, would be in existence 120 years

hence ; and if that food limit could be exceeded by the precipitation of the nitrogen of the atmosphere as a rain of manna, the standing room would all be occupied, except on the remoter Arctic and Antarctic lands, when the population numbered 700 billion (i.e. million million) in the year 3000.

The growth of the world's population in the last half century has been a disturbing political influence. Most parts of India have apparently reached almost the maximum population possible under existing economic conditions, and the slow current increase is accompanied by irrepressible discontent. Countries which once had extensive empty lands have begun to close their ports to aliens, and these restrictions may be followed by general adoption of the principle that each land must consume its own surplus population. - The United States, once the "melting-pot" where mixed peoples from the Old World were being fused into a new type, has adopted measures based on the growing belief¹ that "the immigrant tide must at all costs be stopped" and "the book of race migrations must be closed for ever."

The halt at Ellis Island has already warned Eastern and Southern Europe that America is no longer an open asylum for refugees. The main outlets from Asia have been closed by prohibition of further Asiatic immigration into Western America, by the "White Australia" policy, and by the refusal of Eastern and Southern Africa to accept further Indian contributions to their labour supply.

The struggle for expansion, which was the ultimate motive of the World War of 1914-18, will inevitably be still more bitter and terrible, if it becomes a struggle for existence between the white and coloured races.

The effort to foresee the effect of the rapid growth of population on the future of the world raises two contrasting visions. The increase in the wealth and prosperity of all the continents by the influence of the European race may be continued, either by direct European colonization as in

America and Australia, or by European administration as in Asia and Africa. Asia by improved industrial methods, and Africa relieved from the slave trade, may continue to advance in co-operation with the European race instead of under its government. European control may be voluntarily withdrawn and a sympathetic alliance replace systems of servitude. If so, the twentieth century will be indeed a golden age.

The alternative picture is darker. Europe, during the last half century, like Portugal in the sixteenth century, may have taken on tasks beyond its power. The drain on the population of Portugal by its excessive colonial Empire left the home country under-populated, the land went out of cultivation, and to avert famine Negroes were introduced to till the derelict farms. The dilution of the Portuguese by Negro blood is often regarded as one of the main causes in the fall of Portugal from its former political, scientific, and intellectual pre-eminence. Has Europe been led into the same enterprising but disastrous error? Has it undertaken the administration of larger areas than it has the personnel to maintain? Will, for example, the introduction of the African troops into France cause similar decay to that which followed the importation of Negroes into Portugal, and of the alien slaves to whom is attributed the decadence of the Latin races of Italy during the decline of the Roman Empire?

2. *THE RACES OF MANKIND*.—The study of inter-racial problems requires a classification of mankind. No exact classification is possible, for the human races are not separated by sharply defined, invariable lines. The most popular and generally understood classification is that into four races based on colour—the white or European, the yellow or Mongolian, the brown or non-Mongolian Asiatic, and the “black” or Negro. This classification has the advantage of agreement with many political factors. These colour names, however, are only valid if used in a conventional sense, which is often inaccurate, or if used

with the qualification that the colour is descriptive only of typical members of the race and is not true of all its members. For example, the non-Mongolian people of Asia are described as the brown race, and the Negro as the black race ; yet in southern India many of the people are blacker than many Negroes who are generally of a dark brown, chocolate or copper colour, and are not black ; in fact, some of the blackest skinned Africans, such as some Somali, belong to the "brown race" and are not Negroes. Similarly the Asiatic Mongolians are classified a yellow, yet some of the Arabs who are counted as brown are yellower than many Chinese. Again, the American Indians are described as red, and are a section of the yellow race ; and some of them are neither red nor yellow.

The scientific and anatomical classification has been often based on the skull characters ; but the skull is readily modified by altered conditions of life. A change of food in time affects the muscles of the jaw, and their change alters the face and the skull. A white Australian from the shadeless inland plains is said to be at once recognizable in the towns owing to his deep-sunk eyes and consequently depressed bridge of the nose. They are both points of resemblance to the Australian aborigines, and are doubtless due to the chronic glare of the sunshine, causing an instinctive recession of the eyes during youth. Similarly, as has been often remarked, the skull of the Hungarian, who is a Mongol by race, has been Europeanized by long adoption of European habits.

The skull characters, which are valuable in the description of sub-races, are unsatisfactory for the determination of the primary divisions of mankind. The hair is the most constant and valuable classifying character, and it is used in conjunction with the colour of the skin. The nature of the hair divides mankind into three primary races : the Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro. All the Caucasians, including both fair and dark people, have abundant wavy hair. The Mongolian has long, lank, black hair, and this

feature is associated with slit-like eyes, and usually a yellowish skin. The Negro has short woolly hair and his colour varies from chocolate, through bronzy brown, to a brown so dark that it is often called black. The Caucasians are divided into two sub-races: (1) the White Caucasians, including the people of northern Europe, have fair complexions and were named by Huxley the *Xanthochroii*; (2) the Dark Caucasians or *Melanochoroi* vary in complexion from the brunette of southern Europe to still darker people in Asia and Africa.

The classification based on the hair is less satisfactory in political geography than that based on colour, for Europe includes both White and Dark Caucasians, and also Mongolians, such as the Hungarians, Turks, Finns, and Lapps. The Lapps may be regarded as non-European; but some of the Mongolians are Europeanized in culture, mode of life, and even in physique. They may be counted with the White Caucasians and Dark Caucasians of southern Europe as constituting the white or European race, which may be regarded as including all the tribes and nations of Europe except the Lapps.

The colour classification is of more value in political guidance than that based upon the skull or hair, as its divisions coincide more nearly with the continents. The white race² includes, with the exception only of the Lapps, all the Europeans and their descendants in other continents. The yellow or Mongolian race includes the people of eastern and northern Asia, the Malays, and the American Indians. The brown race includes all Asiatics who are not Mongolian, all Africans who are not Negroes, the Australian aborigines, and the South Sea Islanders or Polynesians. The Negro race includes all the frizzly-haired, thick-lipped, broad-nosed inhabitants of Africa; and an offshoot of the same race in New Guinea and further east in the Melanesian Islands.

3. *WHITE SUPREMACY THREATENED*.—In the comparison of the numbers of these white, yellow, brown,

and black divisions of mankind, it is advisable to take the returns for the last available year before 1914, so as to avoid the mortality of the war, and its disturbance of statistical returns. The approximate numbers are: whites, 520 million; Mongolian, 620 million; brown, 370 million; Negro, 190 million—total, 1,700 million. The coloured races therefore outnumber the white by more than 2 to 1.

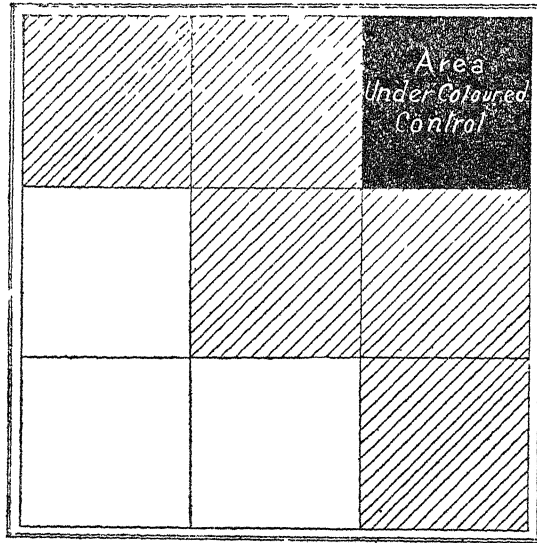


Fig. 1. Diagram of the relative areas under coloured control—black. The area under white occupation—white. The area occupied by coloured races and controlled by the white race—shaded.

The great advantages possessed by the whites, owing to their more elaborate organization, better equipment, and command of transport and machinery, should enable them to hold their own in any direct conflict in spite of their inferior numbers. The danger to the white race comes from its dependence on the maintenance, in lands held by the coloured races, of conditions which would be jeopardized by the withdrawal of white supervision. Some overcrowded European nations would be ruined if they lost their markets among the coloured peoples; and their

trade with Asia and Africa would be destroyed by restoration of the political conditions that held before those continents fell under European control. Its maintenance lays a heavy burden on the white race, which directly governs eight-ninths of the habitable land of the globe. One-third of the inhabitants of the world rule eight-ninths of it, leaving only one-ninth under the control of two-thirds of the people ! (Cf. fig. 1.)

This condition is a modern development. A thousand years ago the white race held only part of Europe, for most of Spain was then ruled by the Moors and south-eastern Europe by Asiatics. Four centuries ago the white race had secured nearly all Europe, but the coloured races ruled the rest of the world. The modern formulas of Asia for the Asiatics and Africa for the Africans were then in force, as well as America for the Red Indians. Even at the beginning of the last century, only a small part of North America and a few small settlements in Africa and Asia were occupied by the whites. During the last century, and especially since the development of railway and steam navigation after 1840, the whole of America, all Africa except Abyssinia and Liberia, all Australia, and all Asia with the exception of China, Japan, and Siam have fallen under European control. Since 1900 European influence has, however, suffered some extensive reductions both in Asia and Africa. The Russo-Japanese war transferred the government of Manchuria to Japan, and Russia subsequently withdrew its claim to special interests and rights in China. The intellectual ferment throughout Asia which followed from the same war has led to a great development of local self-government in India. After the war of 1914-18 Arabia was given self-government from Turkey; Egypt has become an independent kingdom, though with some special relations to Britain, and a British garrison is still stationed in Cairo; and Afghanistan has recovered its independence in foreign affairs. It is true that on the other hand Persia is more fully under European control, and

parts of Turkey-in-Asia have fallen under the rule of western instead of eastern Europe ; but the British control over part of Persia and Mesopotamia has no guarantee of permanence.

These retrocessions on the part of Europe were gained in part by the military defeat of the white race in Manchuria, and also in Arabia where a brown people secured release by the breaking of its former suzerain. The cession of independence to Egypt was the inevitable consequence of the granting of autonomy to its despised neighbour ; for there was no adequate answer to the argument of the Egyptians, that if the rustic Arabians were fit for self-government their own title to it could not be denied. The extension of local government in India was partly given as the reward for help in war ; but it was largely due to recognition of the justice of the local discontent ; it was admitted that the administration was becoming inadequate to cope with the increasing complexity of the work. The Indian civil services had been magnificently efficient while they controlled only a few departments of life ; but they had partially broken down after they had been forced to accept the responsibility for education, agriculture, sanitation, and other branches of domestic and industrial administration. Afghanistan was granted the management of its foreign affairs, partly owing to the collapse of Russia having removed the danger of an invasion of India from the north-west, and partly owing to the unwillingness of the British Empire to enter into military adventures while burdened with the financial indebtedness of the Great War.

These withdrawals have advertised that weakening of European influence, which is also indicated by the relative decrease in the number of the white people. During the past half-century the unprecedented increase in the number of the white race has been exceeded by that of the coloured peoples. The losses of population in China by the rebellions in the early part of the last century have

been made up ; India, by organization for famine relief, increased railway communication, better agriculture, the extension of irrigation, and the improvement in its still defective sanitation, has added 109 million to its population between 1872 and 1911 (" Indian Year Book," 1921, p. 401). The increase in India is, however, now slackening and that in Africa, despite cattle diseases and sleeping sickness, is now the fastest in the world. The rise in Europe and the eastern states of America has lessened, and the population of France has become stationary. The growing disparity in numbers of white and coloured people in a democratic age means the inevitable decline of white power ; while the former prestige of the white race has been undermined by its own beneficent rule. The spread of education, civil and military, has tended to equalize mankind. The training of the African in the use of European weapons, the experience in their use gained during the rebellions in German South-West Africa, and in the African campaigns of 1914-18, the enrolment of many hundred thousand brown Africans and Negroes in the French army, the Negro-manned navy of Brazil, and the service of the 400,000 American Negroes in the Great War, have revealed to the black man that with an equally good weapon he may be as efficient as the white man, and that in some forms of warfare he is more efficient. Mastery of European technical methods enabled the Japanese to win their war with Russia as decisively as their artisans and those of China beat Europeans in some branches of industrial competition.

4. *GEOGRAPHICAL PRINCIPLES BEARING ON RACIAL DISTRIBUTION*.—Alike in war and peace the personal authority which the white man held up till 1900 has undergone a momentous decline. The geographical principles which determine this movement are illustrated by three figures : the first is a diagram showing the relative size of the areas controlled by the white and coloured races ; the second is a map of the present dis-

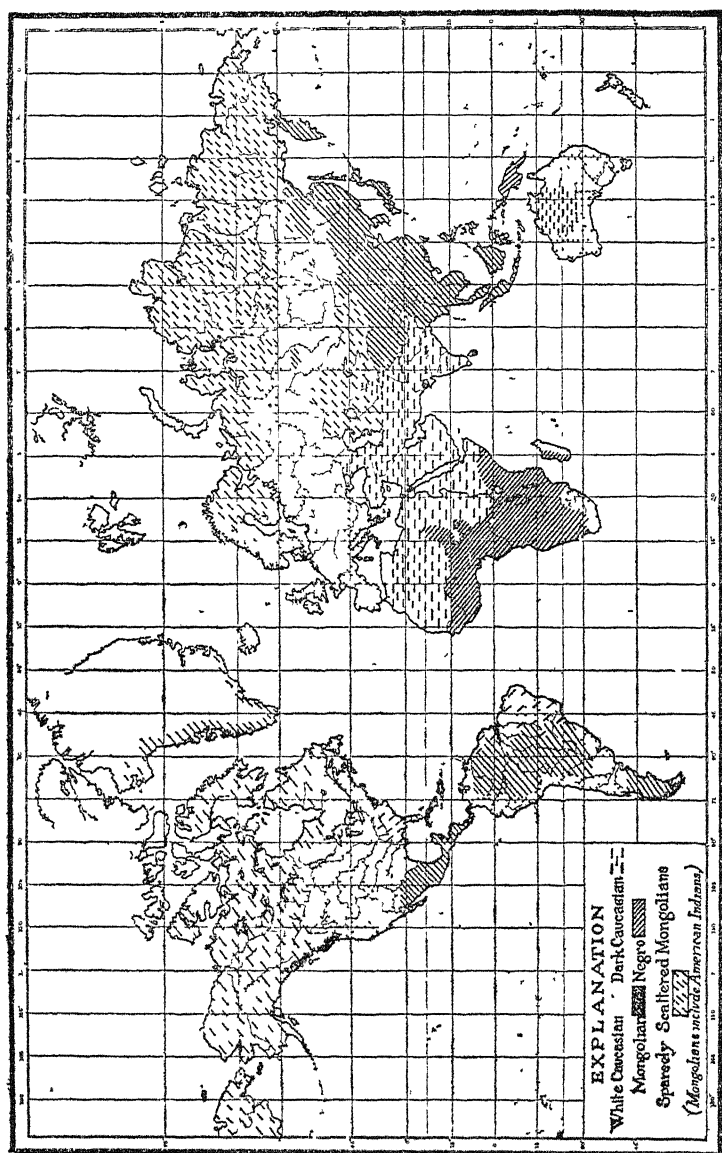


Fig. 2. Distribution of the Races of Mankind.

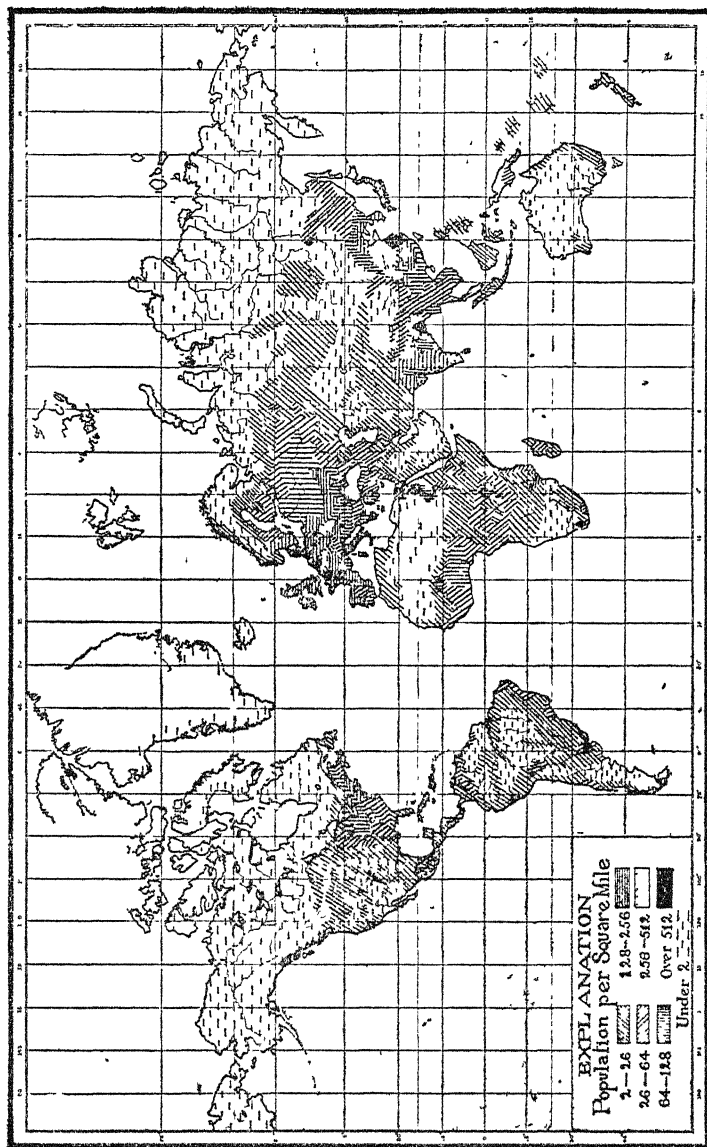


Fig. 3. Distribution of Population by Density.

tribution of the two **races** ; and the third is a map of the density of existing population.

The map illustrating the density of population shows that the frigid zones are handicapped by their long severe winter ; they are thinly peopled by hunters, though they may include considerable populations around areas of important mineral wealth. There are many valuable minerals which are as likely to occur in the Arctic and Antarctic regions as elsewhere ; the fossil ivory from the Siberian mammoths, the aluminium ore—cryolite—of Greenland, the iron ores of Lapland, the gold and copper of Alaska, and the coal of Spitsbergen, are useful Arctic contributions ; yet even allowing for considerable settlements on mining fields the colder regions of the world, including those in which the low temperature is due to great height above sea-level, cannot expect more than a sparse population.

The deserts, which have been defined as areas with an annual rainfall of less than 10 inches, will also be sparsely peopled, unless they are near highlands with a sufficient water supply for irrigation. Dry-farming methods may enable the agriculturist to invade the pastoral areas even beyond the line bounding the 10-inch rainfall ; but he would have to work there on large farms producing a low yield per acre and supporting a thin population. The statement of annual rainfall is itself too crude a test to be reliable, as the distribution of the rain through the year is of primary importance. Twenty inches of rain falling on the Mediterranean type, in which most of it falls in spring, and the summer is hot and dry, may be far more valuable than a larger amount distributed in small showers throughout the year, or falling only in the winter. Nevertheless, as a general rule, it may be expected that land with an average rainfall of less than 12 inches a year will only support a sparse population.

The maps of the distribution of races and of density of population show that at present the tropical regions are

the chief home of the coloured races, while the white race occupies the temperate regions. White labour has hitherto been unable to compete in the tropics with coloured labour, except in skilled work.

The distribution of mankind also illustrates the principle that when races are living side by side with equal political privileges, that with the lowest culture will survive, for its needs are less, and its people will tolerate restrictions that would break the spirit of a more cultured people. Intellectual progress requires expenditure on things that are not essential to life, and as the more primitive people can do without them, they can outlive the more advanced where the struggle for existence is hard.

These principles indicate that the Arctic and Antarctic regions and the tropical and sub-tropical plateaux, 12,000 feet or more above sea-level, will always have a sparse population, and will be left, except for local commercial and industrial centres, to such tribes as Eskimo, Lapps, Tibetans, and other hardy Mongols. Another inference is that unoccupied lands near the overcrowded parts of Asia or accessible to the rapidly increasing Negroes of Africa have no chance of permanent occupation by the white colonist. White merchants may find them profitable trading centres and may for a time rule and administer them; but when white enterprise has subdued the land, built railways, drained the bog, cleared the forest, and controlled the rivers, the coloured man will oust the white from all but the few posts that require experts.

Extensive areas available for the occupation of the white man are but few. Asia has vast empty tracts of good land in southern Siberia climatically suitable for him. In 1914 in conversation with an official in one of these districts I complimented him on the progress made. I remarked enthusiastically that Siberia would be the Canada of the Old World. He thought my well-meant compliment a grudging disparagement. He assured me that Siberia would exceed in population and wealth both Canada and

the United States combined. If immigration into America from eastern Europe is restricted, as is now threatened, to a mere handful of 15,000 a year, the unoccupied plains of Siberia form the natural outlet for the surplus Slavs. A great increase in the white population along the line of the Siberian Railway is therefore probable ; but the European colonies may be at any time swamped by the cheap labour of Mongolians from the south. The opportunity for white settlement in Africa is even more unfavourable, owing to the hopelessness of artisans of the more cultured races competing successfully with the Negroes. North America, no doubt, is a white man's land, except for the share held by eleven or twelve million Negroes whose future is the most difficult problem in American development. South America offers the possibilities of an indefinite increase in the white inhabitants in the southern part of the continent ; but the bulk of it is predominantly brown and Negro, and its future lies with a mixed coloured race with a dwindling white strain, unless, as some authorities hope, the overflow northward from the southern colonies and southward from the United States gains the whole of America for the European race. Australia is the one continent which offers the possibility of a twenty-fold increase of its present white inhabitants.

¹ "Lothrop Stoddart," 1920, p. 266

² The term race is often applied to the Europeans, and the meaning of terms is determined by usage. It must, however, be remembered that as thus used a race is not single in origin. A race would be polyphyletic, to use the technical term. The European "race" includes people of different origins united by their acquirement of common characteristics.

CHAPTER II

The Negro Problem in North America

“Sail on, O Union, strong and great ;
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate !

In spite of rock and tempests' roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayer, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee ”

LONGFELLOW, “The Union.”

- I The Opportunity of the United States—II Negro Progress since 1865—
III. Political Changes in the Status of the Negro—IV. The Legal Position, Lynching and Peonage—V Social Restrictions—VI Restrictions on Employment—VII Growth of Interracial Antagonism before 1910—
VIII. Efforts to Promote Interracial Harmony—IX The 1914-18 War and the Northward Migration of the Negro—(1) Negro Service in the War—(2) Race Riots of 1919—(3) The Immigration Act of 1924—(4) The Northward Migration of the Negroes—(5) The Effects on the Southern States—X The Negro as a Citizen—(a) The Negrophobes—
(b) The Negro as a Worker—(c) Negro Defects—(d) Negro Merits—
XI Proposed Solutions—(a) Race Amalgamation—(b) Associated Distinctness—(c) The Negro as State Wards—(d) Segregation, in Africa and the West Indies—(e) Segregation within the United States—XII. Future Developments.

I. THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE United States of North America had the most favourable opportunity for national development ever open to a great nation. The country lies in the warm temperature zone, the most advantageous of climatic positions. Its size is continental, yet as its middle belt is low-lying and includes wide river plains, the interior is well watered and fertile ; the arid

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highlands that are so extensive within Asia, Africa, and Australia are limited in North America to a relatively small area in the Far West. The proportion of habitable land is exceptionally high, and yet the variations in climate and soil are sufficient to give the States such a variety of products that the Republic could be almost self-supporting. Tin, rubber, and tea—of which a little is grown—are the most important materials that must be purchased from abroad.

The country when discovered by Europeans had only a scanty population ; and its inhabitants were of the kind that disappears on the advent of settled civilization as certainly as weeds wither before cultivation. Into this practically empty land poured a stream of settlers from northern Europe, of whom the great majority belonged to the Teutonic,¹ or, as it is now often called, the Nordic people. Until 1870 most of the immigrants into the United States came from the Teutonic and Celtic nations of north-western Europe. During the ten years, 1861-70, 73 per cent of the immigrants came from the British Isles and Germany, and less than 1 per cent from Russia and Italy. (Fairchild, 1923, p. 131.) The pioneer settlers in the United States belonged to the most enterprising and vigorous sections of the most practically efficient of European people.

The United States had the chance of developing a homogeneous nation of citizens of well-selected parentage, occupying an area nearly as large as Europe (3,570,000 square miles as compared to 3,750,000 square miles). The union of the States was secured by one benevolent constitution which gave them the advantages of free trade throughout that large area, as well as one language and policy. The territory contained the sources of wealth previously beyond the dreams of avarice, and gave individuals powers of acquisition greater than that of Midas. The national revenue was exempt from the drain of military and naval expenditure on the European scale, and the national

character was free from the demoralization of international hostility which in time of war is deliberately fanned into international hate.

The United States had the chance of developing as the model commonwealth, unrivalled in resources, the land of the freest of the free, and the home of the most united, best educated, and most highly principled community in the world.

For the full use of this opportunity, the United States required the maintenance of unity in race. The dilution of the northern settlers by the artistic Mediterranean and Slavic people may produce no serious change unless the proportion be excessive; and for the last eighty years an alert immigration restriction party has closely watched the inflow of aliens, and sounded the alarm whenever it exceeded a safe limit. Regulations that will reduce the annual immigration from eastern and south-eastern Europe to 15,000 (of which 9,072 will be Poles), and from south-western Europe to 5,100 a year (Italy, 4,089, Spain, 324, Portugal, 674) have recently (June, 1924) been imposed.

The most serious danger to the United States was introduced when Negro slaves were imported for the agricultural and domestic work which the Red Indian would not do. Negroes were taken into Florida by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. The first slaves brought in by English colonists were landed at Jamestown in Virginia in August, 1619. In 1625 the number of Negroes in Virginia was only 22, and it remained small until half a century later. The slaves were subsequently imported by shiploads and by 1790 there were 700,000 Negroes in the United States. The total is now estimated, including half-castes and those containing small traces of Negro blood, at about 12 million, out of a total population of 105,700,000 million.² There is about 1 Negro to $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 whites. The distribution is very unequal. The coloured population amounts only to 1 per cent in Massachusetts, but nearly 60 per cent in the State of Mississippi. In one county in that state the

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Negroes outnumber the whites by 9 to 1. In 1904, 87.4 per cent of the Negroes lived in the thirteen southern states, and one-third of them were in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

With such numbers and proportions the attempt to arrange for the co-residence of whites and Negroes in the south-eastern states of America is the most momentous experiment in race relations now in progress. It is being undertaken under the most favourable conditions for success; for the country is rich, the climate propitious to both races, the field of the experiment is held by one of the most enterprising and open-minded nations in the world, and the present conditions result from a long slow development. The southern states have the best chance of showing what the Negro can do in a white environment.

The problem has naturally attracted the attention of students from all countries which are affected by similar problems. Many observers have visited the area to study the question; but the attention paid by the rest of the world to this branch of American politics is sometimes resented. A stranger in the southern states interested in this question has to be careful if he wishes to avoid offending local sentiment; for although southern hospitality is most generous and courteous, enquiries on race relations necessitate intercourse with Negroes to an extent inconsistent with the southern policy of absolute social separation of the two peoples. The subject is regarded with intense concern, and it is a constant topic of conversation, although many southern spokesmen urge that discussion of the question is mischievous and prefer it as far as possible ignored. This desire is not likely to be realized, for, as remarked by Murphy (1904, p. 200), the Negro question "is in many of its aspects the greatest, the most difficult, problem in American life." Similarly, Prof. N. S. Shaler (1904, p. 126), considered that "the future of the Negroes in the United States affords the greatest problems with which our

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commonwealth has to deal. . . . In many ways the African complex is the most peculiar of all the entanglements that the process of civilizing and utilizing men has brought about." Shaler (1904, p. 186), indeed, concluded that the Negro problem "is clearly not only the most difficult our race has encountered, but of an order of difficulty that has never been met in any other commonwealth." Hence the southern states must excuse the widespread interest in their efforts at the solution of a problem of such world-wide significance. They are conducting on the biggest scale in modern time the experiment of the association of two races, who are living intimately intermingled, and are separated socially by a line which is quite arbitrary, as it not only divides the full white from the full black, but includes with the latter every person in whom there is any recognizable trace of Negro blood.

II. NEGRO PROGRESS SINCE 1865

The first impressions made by a visit to the southern states and perusal of the available statistics, such as those in the "Negro Year Book," are of the great progress made by the American Negroes since their emancipation by the Civil War of 1860 to 1865. In 1860 nearly half a million Negroes were free in the States; they had then already entered most of the professions and branches of business. Many of the free Negroes were men of property. Yet the great majority in 1862 started their careers as free men in utter poverty. The wages of a good Negro workman in the south are so much higher than the necessary cost of living that he can easily save enough to buy a plot of land. Maurice Evans (1915, p. 250), an expert South African planter, calculated the average wages, cost of living, price of land, and value of produce in the southern states, and estimated that any capable thrifty Negro could save enough to buy a small but profitable holding. By 1900, according to Professor Hart (1910, p. 145), 188,000 "so-called farms" were owned by

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Negroes and 560,000 Negro families were working on plots of land, which they either owned or rented. These 750,000 families held on an average about 30 acres apiece. Their annual produce was valued at 256 million dollars or 80 dollars a head (counting 4.2 members in a family). Including the other produce raised by Negroes Prof. Hart concluded that of the 1,200 million dollars' worth of farm products in the southern states 500 millions' worth was raised by Negroes. He claimed that 550,000 families, or from a third to a quarter of the southern Negroes, "are getting ahead" (op. cit., p. 146). He added, however, that there was still plenty of room for development, as, though the Negroes were a third of the southern population, they owned only one-fortieth of the property, and of that held by Negroes four-fifths were owned by a quarter of the people. The majority were in extreme poverty.

Maurice Evans, after his study of the Negro cultivator, concluded (1915, p. 99), that the southern Negro farmer was "making good," and was actually increasing in numbers and in the size of his holdings faster than the white farmers. In the more northern districts the Negro has done particularly well. According to C. Kelsey ("The Negro Farmer," 1903), 70 per cent of the Negro farmers in half the counties of Virginia were the owners or managers of their farms. Dr. Bowman has pointed out (1923, p. 24) that the Negro farmers in the decade 1900 to 1910 increased 19.6 per cent, while the increase of the Negro population was 11.2 per cent; whereas during the same period the white farmers increased only 9.5 per cent, although the increase of the white population was 22.3 per cent. The Negro is therefore strengthening his agricultural position. This view is expressed in J. D. Corrothers' exultant lines :—

"And it's, oh, for the white man's shrinking soil,
As the black's rich acres grow!"

The widespread progress of the Negroes between 1866

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and 1922 is shown by the following statistics from the "Negro Year Book" (1922, p. 37) :—

	1866	1922
Homes owned	12,000	650,000
Farms operated	20,000	1,000,000
Businesses conducted	2,100	60,000
Education ; literate Negroes	10 per cent	80 per cent
Colleges and normal schools	15	500
Teachers in all schools	600	44,000
Annual expenditure for education \$700,000		\$28,000,000
Church property	\$1,500,000	\$90,000,000
Number of communicants	600,000	4,800,000

The education of the Negroes is still far less advanced than that of the whites, which in the southern states is very defective. The southern states have a higher percentage of white illiterates than the northern states ; the schools are inferior ; and the universities are smaller and poorer than those of the north and west. Before the war some of the northern colleges were open to the Negroes. Oberlin University in Ohio, which was founded in 1833, was freed two years later from all restrictions of race and sex, as Asa Mahan accepted its Presidency only on that condition ; and for thirty years it was the leading centre of higher Negro education. Before the Civil War the universities of Lincoln in Pennsylvania (1854) and of Wilberforce (1856) had been established ; and soon after the Peace the number of Negro universities was increased to fifteen. The Atlanta University in Georgia and the Howard University at Washington are non-sectarian, but the others, including the Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee, the Leland, Shaw, and Wilberforce, are sectarian. Of the institutions for technical instruction the most famous are Hampton in Virginia and Tuskegee in Alabama.

The educational opportunities of the Negroes in the southern states are still deplorably defective. Many of the schools meet in churches and have no blackboards or other

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teaching appliances. In recent years the noble benefactors and organizations mentioned on p. 64 have led to great advance in educational equipment. Moreover, the quantity and quality of trained Negro teachers and technical workers have been raised by the improvement in the Negro universities, and by the influence of the magnificent institutions at Hampton and Tuskegee.

The Hampton Institute is situated on one of the lower branches of Chesapeake Bay, on ground used for a military hospital during the Civil War. Its site had been occupied by an Indian village, and near by the slave trade was established in the United States by the first sale of a cargo of Negro slaves. It was therefore appropriately selected by General Armstrong for his school for freed Negroes and Indians. He opened it in 1868 with fifteen Negro ex-slaves as pupils. From this modest beginning has grown an institution covering half a mile square on the banks of the Hampton River in addition to a farm of $1\frac{1}{4}$ square miles 4 miles away, with an income of over \$400,000, a staff of over 100 and nearly 1,000 students. Its hall seats 2000 people. Its large library is especially rich in literature on Negro and Indian matters; it has spacious residences for the pupils, comfortable lecture and class-rooms, and vast well-equipped workshops. The three main departments appear to be the Schools of Agriculture, Trades and Business. Many of the students earn part of their expenses by working in the shops, and some of those who cannot, on arrival, afford to join the schools, work for wages, studying meanwhile in evening classes, until they have saved sufficient to take the full day courses. Thanks to the hospitality of Dr. Phoenix, the Vice-Principal and Director of the Summer School, a day spent at Hampton, including a drive to the farm, deeply impressed me with the value of the work. The summer school, in session at my visit, like others in the southern colleges, is aided by grants from the General Education Board. The Institute, in addition to its Bulletin, publishes the well-known journal "The

Southern Workman." The records of the work of the students and of their subsequent careers are especially careful and well planned. As Indian education is now more conveniently provided out west the Indian classes were closed in 1923. The educational staff is partly white and partly coloured, an arrangement which has obvious advantages, but the drawback exists that it has led to the critical attitude of some Negro leaders.

Tuskegee adopted the rule that its staff and students are limited to coloured people. It is in Alabama in the main Negro belt some 30 miles east of the capital, Montgomery. It was founded in 1881 under the charge of Booker T. Washington, who had been educated at Hampton and was one of the most promising members of its staff. He not only realized the need for raising the financial and material status of the Negro, but was far ahead of his time in his recognition of the educational value of agricultural and technical training. He had the distinction of having been one of the great American orators, and he has gained a higher reputation than any other Negro whom the United States has produced. Under his influence Tuskegee developed into the foremost Negro educational institution in the world.³ It had in 1922 a staff of 237 teachers, 1729 students and an income of \$457,000. Its grounds include 2,350 acres; its workshops are immense; its colossal dining-hall is served by kitchens and appliances that would do credit to any of our great hotels or caterers. The well-tended grounds and buildings show that the untidiness which so often detracts from Negro efficiency is not essential to Negro work. Booker Washington was a half-caste, but the present President, Major R. Moton, is a full Negro, and is regarded as equal in ability as a practical administrator to his illustrious predecessor.

Both at Hampton and at Tuskegee great attention is devoted to the physical training of the students, and they are given ample opportunities for athletics and recreation. On my arrival at Tuskegee a students' concert was in

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progress in the church opposite the house in which I was a guest. The day had been hot, even for Alabama in July, so every window was open ; the sweet beauty of the solos, the melodious harmony of the choir, and the inspiration of the closing hymn by the audience wafted to me through that still moist air, remains one of the most moving memories of my last tour in the United States.

The agricultural training at Hampton and Tuskegee has been supplemented by the widespread influence of the field demonstrations in better agricultural methods that have been organized by the General Education Board of New York.

For medical education the best Negro institution is the Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee. It takes its name from five northern abolitionists, the Meharry brothers, who, after the Civil War, devoted their funds of some \$25,000 to Negro education and gave half of the amount to a medical school. Thanks to its first Principal, Dr. Hubbard, this school has developed into a flourishing medical college, which draws students from all the southern states and from the British West Indies. The encouragement and generous contribution of the General Education Board has aided it in raising a fund of \$500,000, and with the improvements thus rendered possible the college has been classified as Grade A by the American Medical Association ; and this recognition gives the graduates the advantages in registration of the leading medical schools.

Negro education in the southern states has no doubt been hampered by the widespread notion that the educated coloured man is more criminal and more dangerous than the uneducated. The educated Negro has been regarded as a spoiled Negro. This belief appears to be as baseless in America as the corresponding view in India. Certain offences, such as forgery, can only be committed by men of some education ; but the records of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutions show that the educated Negro is less criminal than the uneducated, and is less likely to be

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a burden on the State. Nevertheless, there have been many efforts to cut down State expenditure on education of the Negro and limit it to his contribution to the rates, which in places is insignificant. Fortunately, however, this policy has been successfully resisted by the more generous section of the white population. Maurice Evans (1915, p. 123) concluded, after allowance for the more limited use that the Negro children make of the schools, their irregular attendance, and their long absence in summer when they are employed in the fields, that the proportion of the educational expenditure in the southern states devoted to the Negroes is not disproportionately low. The following figures ("Negro Year Book," 1922, pp. 238, 240) show how greatly the expenditure on the Negro schools is below their due numerical proportions. The district of Columbia is included for comparison.

<i>In district of</i>	Average value of public school property per child of school age		Annual expenditure per child of school age.	
	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
Columbia	\$143.00	\$123.00	\$74.00	\$62.73
Louisiana	\$52.36	\$5.60	\$25.37	\$3.49
Texas	\$48.61	\$13.73	\$19.01	\$13.16
Oklahoma	\$44.90	\$21.74	\$31.59	\$14.05
Georgia	\$33.45	\$4.40	\$16.31	\$2.83
Alabama	\$26.66	\$5.16	\$15.8	\$3.00
Mississippi	\$23.32	\$4.00	\$18.12	\$3.91
Kentucky	\$19.86	\$14.13	\$10.29	\$9.46

It has often been stated that the southern states would prefer that the Negro should receive only an industrial education and that they deliberately hamper any movement for his higher education. Some of the restrictions on Negro teachers may appear to support this view. For example, the Professor of political economy in a southern university—a man of special ability and enthusiasm over his work—told me that as a Negro he is not allowed to use

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the State Library. He is therefore excluded from the best local reference library and debarred from access to the original documents connected with his subject in his own state.

That the Negroes are eager for education is shown by the great reduction of illiterates during the past forty years ("Negro Year Book," 1922, p. 241). The percentage of illiterates among the whites has fallen from 9.4 per cent in 1880 to 4.1 per cent in 1920; but that of the Negroes had fallen in the same years from 70 per cent to 22.9 per cent. The number of Negro graduates, according to the same authority (1922, p. 243), is 7,850.

The conspicuous intellectual progress of the Negroes may be illustrated by the large numbers that have qualified as teachers, doctors, lawyers, and ministers of religion. In a census of 1312 college-trained Negroes published in 1903 ("Negro Problem," p. 52), 53.4 per cent were teachers; 16.8 per cent clergy; 6.3 per cent doctors, and 4.7 per cent lawyers. The census of 1910 recorded 779 Negro lawyers. Many American Negroes have gained high distinction in literature⁴—Du Bois as an essayist, P. L. Dunbar and J. Weldon Johnston as poets, and Tanner and Bannister as artists; and high gifts of musical expression gave the Jubilee Singers their world-wide success.⁵ In statesmanship the greatest Negro leader has been Booker Washington, who has been described as the most powerful influence in the southern states since Jefferson Davis. It may be said that the Negroes have not yet produced in literature, art, or science any men of the first rank of genius; but considering the unfavourable conditions under which the majority of the Negroes live and work, their success has been remarkable. The significant fact is that the American Negroes during the past forty years have reached higher levels of intellectual achievement than have ever been attained by members of their race in Africa. They are thus shown to be capable of marked intellectual progress in a suitable environment.

III. POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO

In contrast to the material and intellectual progress of the American Negro in the past fifty years his political position has gone backward. The Federal Parliament shortly after the Civil War, by amendments to the American Constitution, conferred on the Negroes full citizenship of the United States and passed a measure to secure them the full enjoyment of their rights. From 1865 to 1875 the Negroes were politically predominant in the southern states. They elected majorities in the legislatures; Negroes were Presidents of the state Senates, and Lieutenant-Governors of the states; they were Speakers of the state Assemblies; they held many offices, including the state Treasurership. Since 1876 they have, however, lost their votes and their political influence, and even in areas where they are a great majority of the population, they were long left without a single representative in the state or federal parliaments. It was only in 1911 that a Negro was again included in a state legislature, when one was elected in Pennsylvania.

The political changes in the status of the Negroes during the forty years since their release from slavery after the Civil War of 1861-65 have been authoritatively summarized by Lord Bryce (1911, Vol. II, pp. 491-511). At the end of the Civil War three amendments to the Federal Constitution of the United States defined the new position of the Negro. Slavery and "involuntary servitude" were abolished in 1865 by the 13th amendment to the Constitution, and the Negroes were thereafter legally all free. In the following year, the 14th amendment to the Constitution conferred full citizenship on all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and enacted that any State would have its representation in Congress reduced in proportion to the number of its male adult citizens who might be debarred from the franchise except for crime or participation in rebellion. This 14th amendment there-

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fore made the Negroes citizens and protected their right to vote at both the federal and state elections.

The 15th amendment, which was passed in 1870, rendered illegal the denial or abridgment of the voting right of any citizen "on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude."

In spite of this legislation the southern states, in order to control the freed Negroes, enacted a series of vagrancy regulations which were regarded in the north as an attempt to re-establish slavery under a new name. In 1867 the northern states therefore passed the "Reconstruction Act," and undertook the direct control of the South. Under this act the southern states were governed by officials sent from the North, whose proceedings were legalized by the Negro majorities in the legislatures and who were maintained in power by garrisons of Federal troops. The conduct of these officials led to the introduction of the term of "carpet-bag politician" into political slang; for they brought nothing into the country with them but their handbags—and they took away with them a great deal more. They piled up public debts and misappropriated the money. The officials included some honourable and honest men, whose actions led some authorities to attribute the failure of this system to the hostility of the southern whites. Lord Bryce's verdict, however, appears to be in accordance with the facts. He declared (*op. cit.*, p. 498) that "such a saturnalia of robbery and jobbery has seldom been seen in any civilized country, and certainly never before under the forms of free government." In the profits of this corruption the Negroes took their share.

The period of Reconstruction is still remembered in the South with a shudder. The appalling financial corruption and mismanagement at length disturbed the conscience of the North, and it watched with growing sympathy the efforts of the southerners to improve their conditions. The North permitted the southern whites, by the Revolution of 1876, to establish an effective organization and

regain control of their country. The federal troops were removed in 1877. After that date the numerical majority of Negroes was defeated by fraudulent manipulation of the elections. Many Negroes were kept away from the ballot by bullying or cajolery, or the polls were falsified by trickery and fraud. The ballot boxes, for example, were said to satisfy the legal requirements as to the size of the slit through which the voting papers were inserted, and by the provision of the prescribed padlocks ; but the boxes were provided with movable sides which the casuists said were not prohibited by the law. According to Prof. Benjamin Brawley of the Atlanta Baptist College, now of Raleigh University, N. Carolina (1913, p. 177), "In the decade 1870-80 intimidation, theft, suppression, or exchange of the ballot boxes ; removal of the polls to unknown places ; false certifications ; and illegal arrests on the day before an election, were the chief means used by the South to make the Negro vote of little effect." These practices were recognized as a disgrace to a democratic country, and the Federal Government made one futile attempt to suppress them. In the early part of this period the power and veto of the President of the Republic prevented any serious change in the law ; but this protection to the Negroes was removed in 1884 on the election as President of a Democrat, Grover Cleveland. Thereafter the South was allowed to develop its own methods of securing the rule of the white population.

In 1890, after the recovery of the Presidency by the Republicans, a Federal Election Bill to suppress the grosser electioneering frauds was introduced. It, however, was not passed, and the same year the southern states were allowed to begin the legal disfranchisement of the Negroes. This policy was secured by acts which, as they did not mention colour, were nominally consistent with the 14th and 15th amendments and yet practically set them aside. The first of the disfranchisement acts was passed by the State of Mississippi in 1890. This act limited the suffrage

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to men on the electoral roll, from which most Negroes were excluded—nominally by an education test. Any citizen was excluded who could not read some clauses of the Constitution. This test would by itself have disfranchised many illiterate white residents ; but their votes were secured to them by a clause which enabled the officials to add the name of any man who could give a “reasonable interpretation” of some clause in the Constitution. Whether the interpretation were reasonable was left to the decision of the officials preparing the electoral roll. Through this loophole practically all the whites were admitted, while the Negro voters were reduced to an insignificant number. In 1890 there were in Mississippi 147,000 Negroes qualified by age ; but only 8,615 were admitted to the electoral roll.

The other states followed the example of Mississippi and reduced the Negro votes to a negligible number by various devices. Louisiana in 1898 devised the “grandfather clause,” which admitted anyone whose father or grandfather had been a voter before 1867 ; this provision, also without any direct reference to colour, secured the vote for all the white natives of the country, and debarred it from all Negroes. South Carolina in 1895, and North Carolina in 1900, Alabama and Virginia in 1901, and Georgia in 1907 adopted similar measures. Oklahoma in 1910 admitted to the franchise any male descendant of anyone who in 1866 was entitled to vote in the United States, or who then resided in a foreign country. This clause enfranchised all white foreigners and their descendants, while the native Negroes were excluded.

Another device was imposition of a poll-tax, the receipt for which must be shown before voting ; and by not collecting this tax the Negro was bribed to non-registration and consequent disfranchisement.

Similar measures were unnecessary in Florida and Texas, because the Negroes in both states were an insignificant minority ; but in all the southern states the Negroes were rendered politically impotent. The number of Negro

votes was, for example, reduced in Louisiana from 130,000 to 5,300 (Bryce, 1911, p. 545).

To what extent the Negroes are still excluded from the suffrage by these acts it is difficult to determine; but the efficiency of the restrictions is indicated by the small number of votes polled at the Presidential election in 1920 in the three following states:—

	Males of voting age.		Votes cast.
	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	
Mississippi . .	225,700	215,098	18·7 per cent
South Carolina .	183,474	206,033	17·0 per cent
Georgia . .	282,779	428,759	20·9 per cent

By these measures the Negroes were excluded from the legislatures in the southern states and practically from any share in political life. The new state constitutions appear directly inconsistent with the obvious intention of the amendments to the Federal Constitution, and their legality was challenged. The Supreme Court, however, held that so long as the restrictions were nominally applicable to all classes and races, the acts were constitutional, and the Federal Court could not interfere with their local administration. According to this decision the Federal Government had no power to prevent the adoption of illegal state laws. It was not until 1915 that the Supreme Court, instead of taking refuge behind technical pleas, faced the issue and ruled that some of the clauses in the Oklahoma Constitution were unconstitutional.

The northern states accepted the new constitutions without demur, as they were tired of the Negro problem, and probably felt ashamed of the disastrous Reconstruction Policy which had been forced upon the South. The attitude of moderate southerners to these laws was stated by Rev. E. G. Murphy of Montgomery, Alabama. He defended them on the ground that they merely accepted and regularized conditions that were actually in existence. He claimed that the rescue of the states from a Negro

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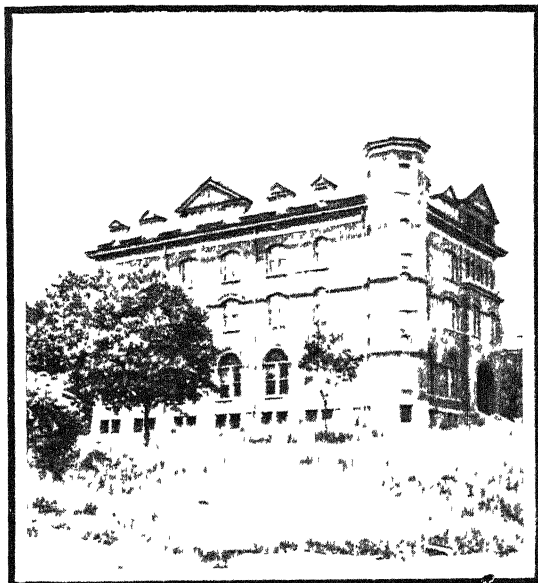
majority was indispensable to the safety of the country, and was therefore beneficial to the Negroes as well as to the whites. The educational clauses, though unfairly administered by the officials, relieved the whites from the necessity of securing what they thought a necessary end by force and fraud.

Prof. Shaler (1904, p. 158), though remarking that he disliked the element of subterfuge in the new constitution, welcomed the change for a time as "it promises a truce to race hatred." If the acts were maintained as a temporary measure and the Negroes admitted to the electoral roll as conditions improve, the ultimate verdict may be that acts have been justified by the results.

The state constitutions, however, place one-third of the population of the southern states, and in some counties a majority of even eight to one, in a position quite inconsistent with the principle of no taxation without representation. If the acts be used to secure the permanent disfranchisement of the educated Negroes their injustice would be indefensible, and their failure as a measure of truce would be inevitable.

IV. THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE NEGRO, LYNCHING AND PEONAGE

The denial of the vote to the Negro has been attended by the serious drawback that it has handicapped the even administration of justice. The state judges and other judicial authorities are elected by public vote, and are naturally inclined to be more considerate to their constituents than to those who have no votes. The Negroes cannot therefore be expected to have full confidence in the impartial administration of the law.⁶ Mr. Maurice Evans (1915, pp. 158-160) regards the unfavourable position of the Negro in the law courts as his most substantial practical grievance. This inferior legal status renders the coloured people more liable to that swindling and ill-treatment by unprincipled white traders which Dr. Du Bois has graphically described.



THE HALL AT FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
Built by the fund raised by the Fisk Jubilee Singers

THE WYATT ALA

One of the Students' residences in the beautiful and carefully tended grounds of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

From photograph by the Author

The Supreme Court, by ingenious subtleties for many years, avoided securing for the Negro the rights conferred on him by the amendments of the Federal Constitution. C. G. Woodson (1921) states that when cases were submitted to the Supreme Court to test the right of a state to enact separate laws for the Negroes, "the court has wiggled out of it by some such declaration as that the case was improperly brought, that there were defects in the averments, or that the court lacked jurisdiction."

Lynching. The defective administration of the law has been the chief cause and excuse for lynching, which has been one of the most haunting terrors in Negro life, and source of the most intense race hatred. Lynching was started owing to the need in the primitive conditions of life in the back country for quick effective punishment. It was not originally directed against the Negro, and was freely used against white criminals, and even against white women, of whom 23 have been lynched. In 1885, 106 white people were lynched as against 78 Negroes. Lynching reached its maximum in 1891 and 1892. I happened to be travelling in the western states in 1891 and came across several cases of lynching. On a ranch in Colorado an Italian had been hanged two days before my visit; the man, after a quarrel, burnt his employer's hayricks, and to prevent him obtaining supplies from the neighbours, had also set fire to theirs. These farmers were dependent on their hay to feed their herds during the winter; and I was told that its destruction meant the ruin of the farmers by the death of their cattle. An official in the state capital subsequently told me that there was no doubt of the guilt of the man, who would probably have escaped scot-free if he had fled to the mountains after firing only one or two of the rickyards.

Shortly afterwards I passed in the Rocky Mountains through a valley where a train had been "held up" a few days before. The local settlers were chasing the brigands and spreading incorrect statements to mislead the police;

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I asked if these efforts to throw the police off the scent were due to sympathy with the robbers. It was then explained that the local settlers were pioneers, who cleared virgin land, and after doing the rough work sold out and moved farther back to repeat the process. A notorious railway "hold-up" would give a district a bad name and delay, perhaps for years, the sale of the cleared land in it. Hence the infuriated pioneers wanted to shoot the robbers who had reduced the value of their property. A fellow-passenger on the train assured me that if the bandits were taken by the police, they would be lodged for the winter in the state gaol, and in the spring they would bribe the gaolers and walk out.

Lynching has practically ceased both in the North and the West, but it is still frequent in the South. In 1921, 64 cases were recorded, of which 63 were in the southern states. Of the total number 59 were Negroes, including two women. Of the whole series only 19 were for rape or attempted rape; the others were for miscellaneous offences.

In the North and West lynching was inflicted only when the culprits were caught red-handed, or there was not the slightest doubt of their guilt. But southern mobs have lynched, with hideous barbarities, men who have been subsequently found to be innocent, and women have been murdered out of spite, or because they tried to enable their families to escape from the mob.

To quote from a recent pamphlet, "Black Spots on the Map," issued in 1923 by the "Commission on Interracial Co-operation" (Atlanta, Georgia, pp. 4-5), assault on women, which is described as the "usual crime" and is often thought of as the sole cause, "was alleged in less than one-fourth of the cases." It says of the victims, "Many of them were guilty of nothing. They were victims of mistaken identity, of unfounded suspicion, of wild mob madness. Many were lynched for the most trivial offences, 'Stealing hogs,' 'creating disturbance,' 'assisting man to escape,' 'quarrel with employer,' 'failing to turn out of

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road,' 'not knowing his place,' 'striking man in altercation,' such charges have figured in hundreds of lynchings."

According to the same pamphlet (p. 3) the recorded lynchings from 1900-22 number 1,731, of which 179 were of white people, and 1,552 of coloured people. The alleged causes were homicide 41 per cent, assault 25 per cent, and lesser offences 34 per cent. Stephen Graham (1920, p. 203) records among the cases in Georgia in 1919 one for discussing the race riots and one for propagandism.

The story of lynching is one of the most deplorable in the history of the southern states. The practice will doubtless be abandoned there, as it has been elsewhere, when the public recognizes its futility as a preventive of crime,' its effect in maintaining the northward migration of the Negroes, and the demoralization upon the whites who have shared in such acts of mob violence.

Peonage. The Negro of the South is also victimized by peonage, a system under which a man is held in servitude until he has worked out a debt. If a "peon" is charged more for board and lodging than he is credited as pay he may be kept in practical slavery. In parts of the southern states Negroes are sentenced to a fine they cannot pay, and are then handed over to an employer whom they serve until they have worked out the fine. Peonage and the robbery of Negro tenant farmers by their landlords have so increased in recent years that a white lawyer in his petition for the re-trial of the Negroes sentenced to death after the riot in Elaine, Phillips County, Arkansas, declared that "the conditions that affect the coloured man to-day in the South are even worse than they were before the Civil War" (quoted by Seligmann, 1924, p. 245).

V. SOCIAL RESTRICTIONS

The social restrictions on the coloured population are perhaps at the present time even more bitterly resented than the political disfranchisement. In order to secure the social separation of the two races coloured people are not

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allowed in most of the southern states to frequent the restaurants, hotels, theatres, churches, public libraries, and schools used by the whites. The Negroes are even excluded from the Young Men's Christian Association, unless they are able to form separate institutes.

Negro passengers in the southern states are required by law to travel by railway in separate carriages known as "Jim Crow" cars, and to use separate seats in the street trams. Negroes are, however, allowed in the other cars if they are servants in attendance on white passengers, so that the objection to their presence is social and not physical. The laws which enact this separate accommodation declare that it must be as good as that provided for white passengers. The laws are therefore said to be no infringement of the American Constitution, as they do not assign to the Negroes inferior, but only distinct accommodation. In practice, however, it must be difficult to secure equality in the conditions. If a railway train consists of old and new carriages, the less comfortable are allotted to the coloured passengers.

The difficulty in the operation of these social restrictions is increased by the numerous half-castes and "near whites," whose existence introduces harassing mistakes and confusion. People of pure white blood have been driven from southern towns, and children excluded from schools in consequence of inaccurate rumours as to their ancestry. Coloured passengers have been ordered out of their appropriate railway car as the conductor regarded them as white. The rigid enforcement of the regulations is impossible. A well-known educationalist who was born in Wales and happens to be of dark complexion, was anxious to finish a conversation with a Negro friend, and accompanied him to the "Jim Crow" car. He was promptly told by the conductor to go to another car. "Why do you tell me to go there?" asked the dark-hued Welshman, and the conductor, faced by this anthropological conundrum, allowed him to remain.

I was travelling north from Alabama, and was interested to see what would happen to a well-dressed passenger who joined the train on the frontier of Tennessee as his features gave unmistakable evidence of Negro blood. The conductor, after some hesitation, accepted the man's ticket, and passed on without question. On asking a friend subsequently whether the incident meant that the "Jim Crow" regulations were not being strictly enforced in Tennessee, he remarked that the conductor must have felt doubtful, and explained that they have to be cautious, as to question a man's purity of descent is as dangerous as to question a woman's chastity. If the man had taken the case into court and won it, the railway company would have been mulcted in heavy damages.

In such cases there is much uncertainty as to what the law will decide. In 1905 a well-known trial was held in North Carolina in reference to six girls who had been excluded from the white schools owing to their alleged Negro ancestry. The case for the children was that their dark features came from an ancestor named Graham a century before, who had some Portuguese blood. He may have had a Negro strain through that source. The Court decided that the children should be regarded as white, and the schools were ordered to admit them.

The social restrictions are most galling to the half-castes, as they are cut off by them from social intercourse with the whites, to whom the "near whites" are nearest akin by blood and intellectual interests. The injustice to people who are practically white, but who are classified as Negro, is excused as amongst those innumerable individual hardships which, under modern conditions, are necessary for national welfare and security. The plea of the greatest good of the greatest number is put forward as the reason for arbitrary rules, which are admittedly harsh and indiscriminating; but this excuse naturally has not prevented the half-castes who are affected by these restrictions forming the main support to the most aggressive schools of Negro opinion.

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The separation of white and coloured races in trains and cars is held to be to the advantage of both. It is sometimes so inconvenient to both that it is dodged by artifice. A leading northern educationalist told me that he had once arranged to travel with a distinguished southern Negro in order to transact some business on the train between two meetings. It could only be managed by the southerner carrying the other's luggage into the car and pretending to be his servant.

The justification for the "Jim Crow" car has been expressed by Stone (1908, p. 25) as follows: "The white people of the South believe that where two races, as widely different as are the white and black, live together in large masses, public policy requires the observance of certain regulations in the ordering of the social relations between the two." Murphy (1904, p. 277) defends the separate cars on the ground that the Negro is not assigned to a lower place, but merely to a separate place. That separate place is, however, no doubt often very inferior, especially as regards the waiting-rooms in the smaller rural stations.

It is difficult not to sympathize with the indignation of Dr. Du Bois (1920, p. 230) who, after denunciation of the railway accommodation provided for coloured passengers, declares "there is not in the world a more disgraceful denial of human brotherhood than the 'Jim Crow' car of the southern United States." It is, however, equally impossible, in view of the intensity of white feeling in the southern states, to doubt that, so long as those feelings remain, the provision of separate railway cars is on the whole wise and in the best interests of both communities. The system is probably as generally convenient as the provision of different classes of carriages in Europe. There are differences in the habits of the white and coloured races which would be irritating, if members of both were crowded together during a long hot journey in the large open cars used on American railways. The principle of separation adopted in India is more tactful. There

separate accommodation is sometimes labelled "For Europeans or for Indians in European dress." This division is more easily applied, and releases Indians who have adopted European standards of life from restrictions that may be desirable as regards others. Under present conditions in the United States the separation of white and Negro passengers on railway journeys probably saves more ill-will than it engenders. It by no means always assigns the inferior accommodation to the coloured passenger. The white cars are often the more overcrowded. I have several times travelled on trains in which the "Jim Crow" cars would have been more comfortable and less noisy.

The exclusion of the Negroes from the dining and sleeping cars is a more serious handicap. Some of the women students of the Fisk University at Nashville, in going to and from their homes, have to make journeys involving two nights in the train, and they are unable to use the sleeping or dining cars. Fortunately, however, the exclusion of Negroes from the Pullman cars is being somewhat relaxed. In 1924 in Georgia and Alabama in two succeeding railway journeys I observed Negro passengers being served in the dining car. They sat at a table at the end of the car and were obviously there on sufferance. But no one objected to their presence. The relaxation was begun long ago in cases of Negroes of distinction, such as Booker Washington, who was allowed to use a sleeper; and the same privilege was given people known to the railway officials (see e.g. M. Evans, 1915, p. 244). Some railways in this respect are more hospitable than others. A Washington Negro Professor told me that he and his family were always able to use the sleeping cars on the Southern Railway between New Orleans and Washington, and that it is possible to travel in the Pullman cars on other lines, though use of the privilege is always attended by danger. In some states a Negro would be at once ejected, and in some districts would be lynched for his presumption; for though

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some of the courts (e.g. in Kentucky, 1921) have ruled that the "Jim Crow" laws do not apply to Pullman cars, the public do not obey that ruling ; and if a Negro were injured during his eviction he would probably fail to secure any remedy by an appeal to the law.

The exclusion of the Negro from hotels may be reasonable in the case of those used for social purposes and at holiday resorts. But the adoption of this rule by ordinary business hotels is a serious hindrance to commercial and professional men. Shortly after Booker Washington had been entertained at lunch by Roosevelt at the President's House, some southern papers announced with glee that the great Negro leader had been refused accommodation at three hotels in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Though some relaxation of the rules in regard to the "Jim Crow" cars may be in progress, there appears no present tendency towards the general breaching of the rigid social barriers that have been established by law and strengthened by custom. Marriage between white and coloured persons is illegal in all the southern and in twelve northern states, including Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Utah, Indiana, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Delaware. The law against such marriages has been recently strengthened in Virginia (cf. p. 88), and it is defended by the question—Would you like your daughter to marry a Negro? as if that were final. The Negro asks, Is it just that a white man may live with a woman and have children by her, and yet be legally prohibited from marrying her because of her race? The prohibition of intermarriage leads to many awkward situations. A Negro who has married a white woman in a northern state and goes South is liable to imprisonment—in some states for ten years. The social division in the South appears to become more impenetrable with growing nervousness at the Negro advance in wealth and education.

VI. THE RESTRICTION ON EMPLOYMENT

In the northern states there are no restrictions against the association of the two races in public conveyances ; but the social barriers were until recently almost as severe as in the South, and the restrictions on employment were even more rigorous. It was often remarked that in the North a coloured man with a dollar to spend could go to any theatre ; but that in the North it was becoming increasingly difficult for him to earn the dollar. In the northern states the Negro, though under no legal restrictions, was under more effective industrial repression than in the South. Abraham Lincoln laid down the principle that in the United States the black man in "his right to eat the bread he earns is equal to any other man." He did not insist on his equal opportunity to earn his bread. In the North a rigorous boycott might prevent the coloured man earning any. He is allowed there access to most of the Universities, though Princeton has apparently hitherto admitted none. The Negro had the entry to theatres and places of amusement. He was not forced into separate tramcars and railway carriages, his numbers being too few to make that provision convenient. But the door of industrial opportunity, and the most lucrative and pleasant means of livelihood, were closed to him. He was debarred from all but menial work, and the women were, and still are, mainly confined to domestic service. Dr. Du Bois (1899, p. 394), in his social study of the Philadelphian Negro, states : "There is no doubt that in Philadelphia the centre and kernel of the Negro problem, so far as the white people are concerned, is the narrow opportunities afforded the Negroes for earning a decent living. Such discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially silly."

In the South, in contrast to the conditions in the North, most departments of labour and all the professions have long been open to Negroes. Fifteen universities and many

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special colleges and institutions are devoted to their education ; and there is no colour boycott in work, though in practice arbitrary restrictions may be suddenly imposed on them. Negroes who have qualified as doctors have been ordered to cease practice, and removed from a district by the white medical men already established in it ; and Negro shopkeepers have been ordered to close their business and go elsewhere by rival tradesmen. The same action has been taken on a larger scale where Negroes have begun to settle in localities where the labour had hitherto been white. That " Walker County had always been a white man's county and was going to remain so," was the declaration by an armed force of farmers who suddenly rounded up all the Negroes who had settled at Cordova, in Alabama, to work in the cotton mills and on the railway, and expelled them from the town (M. Evans, 1915, p. 163, quoted from Calhoun). Coloured men are debarred from some of the ordinary stimulants to professional activity, as their exclusion from the state and federal parliaments closes to a lawyer effective methods of developing his practice and deprives public-spirited men of the inspiration of important fields of national service.

The Negro is also hampered by being excluded from many trades, as he is not allowed to join the unions. Booker Washington (e.g. 1899, pp. 77-79) pointed out that when a skilled Negro worker dies he is often replaced by a white man, who then organizes the locality against coloured competitors, and introduces the trades union. Many unions, including those of boilermakers, carmen, electric workers, engineers, firemen, telegraphers, and wire weavers (Evans, 1915, p. 231), refused to admit Negroes as members ; and as the employers could not engage non-union labour, the Negroes were excluded from such trades. Work in mines, quarries, and iron foundries is usually open to Negroes, owing to their physical strength and endurance ; but in such occupations they have to form their own unions, which are encouraged by white

labour in order to prevent them acting as blacklegs during strikes.

In consequence of this industrial repression it appeared at one time as if the Negro would be practically confined to the South (cf. e.g. Bryce, 1911, Vol. II, p. 536). In revisiting America in 1900 and 1909 I was impressed by the apparent reduction in the number of the Negroes in New York, although their numbers had actually increased. They had disappeared from various occupations of which they had formerly had a monopoly; for they had been replaced as bootblacks, barbers, waiters, and caterers by Greeks, Italians, and Slavs, and in domestic service by white women. But in 1924 the number of Negroes was much larger and they appeared far more prosperous. They have withdrawn from the low-grade occupations and to a large extent entered the middle class. In respectable parts of New York the Negro children play in the streets with their white friends in relations very different from those observed on a visit to the city in 1891.

VII. GROWTH OF INTERRACIAL ANTAGONISM BEFORE 1910

From 1890 to 1910 the general verdict among writers on the problem was that the conditions of race relations in the United States were trending from bad to worse. Some of the conditions were less favourable for friendly relations between the two races than they had been even under the ban of slavery. Then early association in childhood laid the foundation of mutual sympathy and friendship; thus President Winston (1901, pp. 109, 115), in an address to the American Academy of Political and Social Science, after a pleasant picture of the intercourse of blacks and whites in his boyhood, and of his own with his Negro playmates on his father's estate, deplored that all such association had ceased. The two races, he declared, are drifting apart. The obvious improvement in the financial position of many of the Negroes did not extend to race relations. Prof. Hart (1910, p. 389) concluded that

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"we have the unhappy conditions that while both races are doing tolerably well, and likely to do better, race relations are not improving." "The two races," he added (*ibid.*, p. 388), "so closely associated, are nevertheless drifting away from each other."

That racial friction was increasing was emphatically asserted by A. H. Stone (1908, pp. 240-241) and Lord Olivier (1906, p. 56), who had a long experience in Negro administration in the West Indies. He declared after a visit to the United States, "I judge that negrophobia—race prejudice—instinctive race prejudice if you will—is, in the United States, the most active source of danger." He added (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 60), "My study and comparison of conditions in the United States and in the West Indies has brought me to the conviction that no solution of the American colour difficulties will be found except by resolutely turning the back to the colour-line and race-differentiation theory. . . . Where the race-differentiation formula is held to it will doubtless in time bring about civil war."

William Archer (1910, p. 243) concluded that the race bitterness was increasing, and that "there is much in southern policy and practice that even the necessities of the situation cannot excuse—much that can only be palliated as the result of a constant overstrain to which human nature ought never to be subjected." He remarks (*ibid.*, p. 208) that "the feeling between the races is worse, comparing 1895 [the date of the first Atlanta Conference] and 1899, rather than better." The utter distrust of the Negroes according to Prof. Hart (1910, p. 377), "has led to the unalterable intention of the whites that the Negroes shall not participate in choosing officials or in making laws either for white men, or for themselves." He concluded (*ibid.*, p. 340), "all southern people agree that the question is alarming."

A year later W. P. Livingstone (1911, p. 13) declared, "So gigantic does the problem appear, so difficult of peaceful solution, that the nation is helpless in face of it.

It has become so subtly connected and interwoven with all the organic texture of the national existence that the people, as a whole, are afraid to make it a living question, not knowing what might be the result. There is an uneasy consciousness of the truth of the southern warning, that the forces of the revolution, unspent and terrible, are ready at any moment to break out under sufficient provocation. Politicians exploit the issue for party ends, but no serious effort is made to bring the broad question within the area of practical politics. Thus, although the matter is daily forcing itself on the attention of the country in one form or another, and imperatively demanding the wisest thought and statesmanship of the time, it remains, what it has been for a century, the darkest and most menacing cloud on the horizon of national life." He added later (*ibid.*, p. 31) that "the situation is described as being worse to-day than at any time since 1865."

M. S. Evans said the present position is tragic; and Archer (1910, p. 206) considered the position in 1910 so dangerous that he predicted that if in some race riot, the Negroes, even in self-defence, killed a dozen white men "a flame would burst out all over the land which would work untold devastation before either authority or humanity could check it." "Any competent observer" said Evans (1915, p. 227), "must see in the South, as in South Africa, a gathering storm, which means ultimately not only industrial war, but industrial war plus racial conflict."

Equally alarmist was the prediction of W. P. Livingstone (1911, p. 185). "If nothing is done to alleviate existing conditions one can foresee the inevitable end as clearly as if it were visible to the eye. The struggle will go on increasing in intensity as the Negroes advance in intellectual capacity and material resource; the passions of both races, now fitfully venting themselves in lawless action, will rise beyond control, and a catastrophe will ensue which will startle the world."

VIII. EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INTERRACIAL HARMONY

The contrast between the traditional northern and southern policies is expressed in the title of two chapters in Maurice Evans' book (1915), "The North—a Voter without a Livelihood," and "The South—a Livelihood without a Vote." That antithesis was once a correct statement of one of the fundamental facts in the American Negro position, but it has ceased to be valid owing to a great change in the position of the Negro in the northern states.

About 1910 a combination of circumstances promised happier conditions for the American Negro. The census in that year showed that the percentage of illiterate Negroes had been reduced to 30·4 per cent, a fall of 40 per cent in thirty years. Educational progress among them was being accelerated by many important organizations endowed by northern philanthropists. The general increase in Negro prosperity and thrift was shown by the fact that a quarter of the Negroes in the southern states had by then acquired the ownership of their dwellings, and three-quarters of these houses were held free from debt. The legal status of the Negro was improved in 1915 by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Oklahoma disfranchisement act was unconstitutional. This verdict was the more significant as the application to the Supreme Court on the corresponding act in other states had been dismissed in 1904 on technical pleas (cf. p. 49, and Woodson, 1921). The decision of 1915 showed that the Supreme Court was prepared to listen more sympathetically to Negro appeals.

The increased wealth and better education of the Negro have, however, made his social humiliations smart the more acutely; his business interests being larger and more complex they were more injured by his legal inferiority; and these irritants, combined with resentment at his war services being disparaged in a campaign of what

Benjamin Brawley (1921, p. 353) describes as "proscription and propaganda probably without parallel in the history of the country," have strengthened his determination to insist on fairer treatment. Comparison of the tone of Du Bois's two books "The Souls of Black Folk," published in 1903, and his "Darkwater," published in 1920, show the increased bitterness of the Negro man of letters. Dr. Du Bois (1920, p. 49) warns America that the Negroes will not tolerate their present conditions a day longer than they can help. "What, then, is this dark world thinking? It is thinking that, wild and awful as this shameful war was, it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer." Du Bois, it should be remembered, is repudiated as too moderate by the extreme section of his people represented by the New York journal "The Messenger." The contrast also between the crushed despair of Dunbar's poem "Resignation" :—

"Long had I grieved at what I deemed abuse,
But now I am as grain within the mill.
If so be thou must crush me for thy use,
Grind on, O potent God, and do thy will !

with the defiance of

"Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back ! "

in an oft-quoted modern poem by a Jamaican Negro poet, Claude McKay, shows the new spirit that is arising among the American Negroes.

The increased race bitterness has developed despite some powerful agencies which are ameliorating the position of the Negro and easing the way to interracial peace.⁸ They include : The General Education Board with its more than princely endowment of about £30,000,000 by the Rocke-

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fellows and under the able administration of Dr. Lawrence Buttrick ; The Southern Education Board which has done so much for agricultural education in the cotton districts of the South ; the Phelps-Stokes Fund which aids the investigation of Negro educational problems and that maintains fellowships for the study of Negro Sociology in the southern universities ; the Rosenwald and Jeanes Foundations for the building and maintenance of Negro schools—the Slater Fund of two million dollars founded by J. F. Slater of Connecticut for the preparation of teachers and help in training schools, and the National Urban League for Social Service among Negroes, and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, both with headquarters in New York. These movements are mainly financed and inspired by northern philanthropists and educationalists. Their influence for good has been combined with that of such southern organizations as the “University Commission on Southern Race Questions” (1912-17) and the “Commission on Interracial Cooperation” (headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia), which has established eight hundred interracial committees in different parts of the South. Both races are being led by these and other agencies to unite in social and educational work with an improvement of feeling and friendly co-operation, which ten years ago would have been regarded as inconceivable.

These pacific influences are, however, being counteracted by the exertions of various parties and organizations in the South which are determined to maintain the Negro voteless and politically powerless. This feeling has led to the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, and to the persistent obstruction by which some southern Senators prevented the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill, after it had been passed by the House of Representatives and though it doubtless had a clear majority in its favour in the Senate. The ill-feelings aroused by such action have led some recent authors such as Brawley (1921) and Seligmann (1924) to declare

that the outlook is worse than ever. Nevertheless the predictions of civil strife, which were prevalent up to 1910, appear less likely of fulfilment owing to the growing strength of the moderate section in both races, to the great change in the status of the Negro in the northern states, and to the effect of the northward migration of the Negro upon his position in the South.

IX. THE WAR OF 1914-18 AND THE NORTHERN MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO

1. *NEGRO SERVICE IN THE WAR*.—The great advance of the Negro followed from the Great War, which improved his position in two ways. Immigration into the United States from Europe fell from 1,218,480 in 1914 to 197,919 in 1915. The consequent labour shortage was the more aggravating to the American manufacturers owing to the increased demand for war materials and to the collapse in the European output. The northern states therefore turned to the South for recruits, and the labour famine led to the greatest exodus from the southern states in the history of the American Negro. The southern states objected to this drain on their labour, and hampered the movement by raising the licence fees to recruiting agents; but the American manufacturer is not easily foiled, and the high wages in the northern cities tempted many Negroes to migrate. Between 1915 and 1918 about half a million of them (some estimates are as large as 800,000) went North, as well as many "poor whites," who carried with them their racial prejudice.

This great increase in the number of Negroes in the northern states compelled the labour organizations to recognize some Negro unions, and thus further improved the status of the Black.

The entry of the United States into the War in 1917 gave the Negroes striking opportunity to show their patriotism and worth. Their martial courage under leaders in whom they trust is indisputable. The Negroes enlisted

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with enthusiasm. A training camp for Negro officers was established near Des Moines in Iowa. Twelve thousand Negroes received commissions, and 400,000 of them—a higher proportion than of the white citizens—enlisted in the United States army. Half of these men saw service in Europe. They were accompanied to the War by large numbers of Negro women as hospital nurses and canteen servants. The valour and distinction with which the Negro soldiers fought on the western front was recognized in the many French awards to individuals and to Negro regiments.

Their military prowess in the War, their welcome in the North as willing labourers, the wider industrial recognition of their unions, and the overthrow of the Oklahoma disfranchisement act encouraged the hope that the predictions of evil times ahead would be frustrated, and that the Booker Washington policy was achieving complete success. These hopes, however, were dashed by influences and incidents which appeared to justify the worse forecasts of the pessimists. The entry of so many Negroes into the northern labour market aroused jealousy and alarm among the white workers. The housing difficulty led to much inconvenience, for the Negroes were forced to transgress beyond their usual residential areas. The Negroes and their champions, such as Prof. Brawley of the Raleigh University, N.C., were bitterly disappointed by the grudging recognition and even systematic disparagement of their services in the War. The Negroes had been given a foremost position in the trenches when the fighting was furious. Like Kipling's soldier, they might have contrasted their different treatment in war and peace—"But when it comes to fighting, Lord, they'll put us in the stalls." After the War was over the Negroes felt that race jealousy refused them their fair share of recognition for their gallant service and loyal patriotism. The American Negro troops, for example, were allowed no part in the great triumphal procession in Paris. Their military achievements were belittled, and any

misdeeds by individual Negro soldiers were exaggerated and advertised.

Dr. R. R. Moton (1920, pp. 210-220), the Principal of Tuskegee, visited France to investigate what he calls the "whispering gallery" slanders against the Negroes at the front. His evidence shows that such ill-conduct as was established was no more frequent with the coloured than with the white troops.

2. *RACE RIOTS OF 1919*.—The result of the War was to intensify interracial bitterness, which, combined with severe industrial competition in the northern towns, led to a recrudescence of lynching, and to a series of fights in which the Negroes offered determined resistance. In a military riot at Houston in Texas, 2 Negroes and 17 whites were killed; the Negro regiment was overpowered, and 18 of the men hanged and 51 sentenced to imprisonment for life. In July, 1919, in the capital, Washington, D.C., for three days Negroes were attacked by bodies of armed whites; the riot was stopped owing to the courage with which the Negroes defended themselves. Chicago has long had one of the largest Negro populations of any of the northern cities, and has given the Negro an unusually favourable position; but during the latter part of the War the extensive inflow of southern Negroes alarmed the population and led to dangerous tension between the two races, which is said to have been rendered more explosive by the "poor whites" who have also migrated from the South. A few days after the Washington riot a Negro boy while bathing in the lake was pelted with stones for having, it is said, while supported by a railway sleeper, drifted across the unmarked line between the white and black bathing areas. The rain of stones caused him to lose his hold of the sleeper, and he was drowned. The Negroes demanded the arrest of the man whom they considered responsible for the boy's death, but the police would not act. A fight ensued, which was followed by a series of riots in which 23 Negroes and 15 white men were killed, 537 people injured,

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and 1,000 people rendered homeless and destitute by the destruction of their houses. A reign of terror lasted for some days. The full history of this tragedy and of its causes has been published in an important monograph—"The Negro in Chicago, 1922."

At Elaine in Arkansas, in October of the same year, some Negroes organized a union and engaged a lawyer to secure them what they regarded as a just division in the receipts of the cotton crops, which are often grown on a partnership system. It was rumoured that the Negroes were preparing to massacre the whites. A fight ensued, which both sides accused the other of beginning. In the attack upon the Negroes 25 of them and 5 whites were killed. Among the slain were four brothers belonging to one of the most distinguished Negro families in the town. Troops were rushed into the district; 1,000 of the Negroes were arrested, 122 of them were tried; the trials are said to have lasted for from five to ten minutes each, and no evidence was given for the defence. Twelve Negroes were sentenced to death and 54 to various terms of imprisonment; but these sentences were annulled and the men released by the Supreme Court in 1924 after a legal battle lasting over four years. The Elaine affair was followed by an outcry in the States against the Negro press, which was accused of encouraging discontent and unrest, and efforts were made to prevent the circulation of some of the most responsible of the Negro journals.

Serious race riots also happened in 1919 at East St. Louis, at Knoxville, Tennessee, in August, at Omaha in September, and at Bogalusa, Louisiana, in November. They have been described, amongst others, by Seligmann (1924).

The most remarkable feature of these riots was the determined courage with which the Negroes defended themselves. They were always overwhelmed in the end, but their armed organized resistance showed a change in the Negro spirit. It is possible that the incidents in 1919 represent only an exceptional disturbance due to industrial

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unrest and movements of population after the War; but the more passionate race consciousness and feelings expressed by the Negroes show that they are no longer prepared passively to tolerate physical violence.

3. *THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1924*.—During the past decade the independence of the Negro has been encouraged by an extensive migration to the North. This movement was partly a consequence of the labour shortage due to reduced immigration from Europe, owing to a series of causes which culminated in the Act passed in March, 1924. Within recent years the belief has been growing in the United States that immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have been arriving in numbers too great for assimilation and that the "melting pot" was no longer effective, as the quantity passed through it was too great for the mixture to be melted into a homogeneous product. One school of American economists, whose views are ably stated in Prof. H. P. Fairchild's work on Immigration (1923), holds that the introduction of more than 1,000,000 new-comers in a year is excessive, and must be reduced. Until about 1882 most of the immigrants into the United States came from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. But since then, owing to the improvement of labour conditions in those countries, emigration from them has been reduced, while the opening up of the Mediterranean to direct trade with America increased the number of southern emigrants. The following figures from Fairchild (1923, p. 131) show the reduction in the Teutonic and the increase in Italian and Slav immigrants into the United States.

From	1861-70	1901-10
Austria-Hungary . . .	·33 per cent	24·4 per cent
Italy	·51 " "	23·3 " "
Russia (including Finland) .	·2 " "	18·2 " "
British Isles	38·0 " "	8·1 " "
Germany	35·0 " "	3·9 " "

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An Immigration Act was passed in 1917 and it reduced the immigrants to be admitted from any country to 3 per cent of the number therefrom resident in the United States in 1910; that act still admitted annually 42,057 Italians and 64,820 from the European territories of the former Russian Empire. The reduction was considered inadequate, and the "Immigration Act of 1924" lowered the permissible immigration of any nationality to "2 per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1890." This act reduced the annual quota of Italians to less than a tenth of that permitted by the 1917 act; viz., from 42,057 to 4,089; the number of these admitted from the late Russian Empire is reduced from 64,820 to 9,072 Poles and 3,458 from the rest of Russia, including Finland, Lithuania, and Esthonia. The new act has been designed to exclude Italians and Slavs and let in Teutons and Celts. It admits annually 50,329 immigrants from Germany, and 62,658 from Great Britain and Ireland^a; 2,982 from Denmark, 6,653 from Norway, and 9,761 from Sweden. This new Immigration Act will permanently reduce the supply of European labour in the United States, and compel the northern manufacturers to turn to the southern states when they need more workers.

4. *THE NORTHWARD MIGRATION OF THE NEGROES*.—This call for labour from the South will tend to maintain the northward migration of the Negroes, which has been the most important racial movement in the United States in recent years. The movement has been taking place slowly for many years; it was accelerated about 1910 and became a torrent in the early years of the Great War. It has already greatly reduced the labour supply in the southern states. Georgia has lost 100,000 Negroes, or 20 per cent of its agricultural labourers; 46,674 farm dwellings are empty and the exodus is increasing in 48 per cent of the counties in the state. (Negro Conference,

City Club of Atlanta, 4th July, 1923. "Monthly Labour Review," XVIII, Jan., 1924, p. 33.) The southern states have done their best to stop the migration by hindering the recruitment agents by personal violence, and by charging them high licence fees. The town of Macon in Georgia imposed a licence fee of \$25,000 on any labour agent enlisting men for service outside the state, and in addition required him to get a recommendation by ten local ministers, ten manufacturers, and twenty-five business men. (Henderson, 1921, p. 426.) Labour agents, according to the same authority, found violating the laws, were arrested and set to work on the roads. Negroes at the railway stations were arrested in hundreds by the police, who, at Albany, Georgia, destroyed the tickets of those going North. He also refers to one case in which the station refused to sell railway tickets to Negroes anxious to migrate, and states that the Mayor of New Orleans (*ibid.*, p. 428) asked the Illinois Central Railway not to carry Negroes northward, a request which the railway company refused. I was told that at the country railway stations Negroes were refused tickets to Cincinnati, through which city many of the emigrants passed on their way North. Some southern writers declare that the Negroes who have gone North are disappointed with the change, are discouraged by the high cost of living, dislike city life and its strenuous work, and find the northern winter intolerable. It is expected that the Negro will feel the appeal expressed in Daniel Davis' well-known poem :

" But I'm gittin' mighty werry,
An' de days a-gittin' drerry,
An' I'm hungry, O, so berry,
Fur my hom' down Souf."

The Negroes themselves, however, report that the migration will continue unless the southern states remove its cause by giving the Negro a happier and safer life.

The Negroes who have moved North have mostly gone from the country and agriculture to the towns and to

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specialized industrial work which was altogether new to them. Nevertheless they seem to have made good. According to enquiries by the Chicago Race Commission (1922, pp. 372-8, 624), 118 establishments which employed 21,640 Negroes, or an average of 183, reported that Negro labour was satisfactory; 19 establishments which employed 697, or an average of 36, reported that Negro labour had not proved satisfactory. Negroes were said to be as efficient as white workers by 71 employers (who "included almost all the large establishments"), whereas only 22 employers considered the Negro less efficient. As regards steadiness of work, of 52 employers who expressed an opinion on the matter, 28 said that the Negro had the greater turnover, and the other 24 said that of the two races it was "about equal."

The bulletin on "The Negro during the World War," by the United States Department of Labour (1921, p. 44), gives the results of official enquiries into the relative efficiencies of white and Negro labour; it reports that of 85 units

	In hours worked per week	In earnings per hour.
The Negroes were higher than the whites—	in 35	in 28
„ „ „ lower „ „ „ —	„ 25	„ 33
The Negroes and whites equal	— „ 25	„ 24

Dr. G. E. Haynes (1923, p. 6), formerly Director of Economics in the United States Department of Labour, secured reports from 38 employers who in 1918-19 were employing 108,215 white and 6,757 Negro workers; and he states that the opinion regarding the Negro workmen "was so favourable that they will be probably retained in northern industry in large numbers." Answers to my enquiries in the southern states were to the same effect. I was informed of one northern company who had engaged 17,000 Negroes and was so pleased with their work that it intended to engage another 20,000.

5. *THE EFFECTS ON THE SOUTHERN STATES.*

—If this northward migration continues the southern states, and especially southern agriculture, will suffer severely by loss of labour and the consequent increase in its cost. The progress of the southern states has been delayed by their dependence on the Negro and the consequent smallness of immigration. They include areas of great attractiveness and of magnificent natural wealth, with valuable mineral deposits—coal, iron-ore, phosphate, and aluminium ore (bauxite); rich soils are widespread, and are prolific owing to the geniality of the climate and the generous and well-distributed rainfall. The cotton crop is still the largest in the world, and the small holder often does well by “trucking”—the growth of vegetables and fruits for the winter markets of the northern cities. The development of the country has, however, been slow in many respects. The roads were proverbially neglected; and the increase in wealth and population has been much less than in the North. The educational institutions are inferior and less generously endowed; and the social backwardness is indicated, amongst other symptoms, by the high percentage of illiteracy and the frequency of murder and homicide.

The problem in the South is complicated by the very different attitude of the Negroes to the two classes of whites. The “Whites of Quality,” the descendants of the slave owners, are still regarded by the southern Negro with deep respect owing to traditional authority which has been maintained by the high qualities of this cultured aristocracy. The “poor whites,” on the other hand, have been regarded with dislike and contempt which was expressed in the taunting slave song:—

“For you and yours I don’t care a damn,
I’d rather be a nigger than a poor white man.”

The present condition of the “poor whites” has been graphically described by F. Tannenbaum (1924, pp. 146-7), who represents them as living in the direst poverty. The

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condition of the South is due in part to its dependence on the cotton crop, which is increasingly grown by small tenant farmers. The average cash income of the small cotton grower in two counties in North Carolina, according to Tannenbaum (*ibid.*, p. 133), is as follows :—

				Cents per person per day	
White farm-owners	.	.	.	34	(or 1s. 5d a day)
Black	„	.	.	32	
„ renters	.	.	.	16	
White	„	.	.	14	
Black croppers	[“ crofters ”]	.	.	10	
White	„ [„]	.	.	8	(about 4d. a day)

The white tenants and croppers according to this table are poorer than the Negroes. “Such poverty,” says Tannenbaum, “is deadening” (pp. 134-6). “It places books, music, art, all cultured things, beyond reach.” So also are decent clothing, shoes, proper tools, doctors, and dentists. “Material poverty is wedded to spiritual dumbness.” The children cannot have proper schooling or sufficient play. “Invariably tenancy and illiteracy crowd the same counties.”

The intellectual backwardness of some sections of the southern whites is notorious, and has recently received widespread advertisement by the refusal of public grants to educational institutions which teach the doctrine of evolution. The latest of these decisions was the unanimous recommendation by the State Education Committee of Georgia to the House of Representatives, on 31st July, 1924, to withhold any funds from any school or university which teaches the doctrine of evolution. (Reported in the “New York World,” 2nd August, 1924; “New York Times,” 1st August.)

The state of education and of the southern educational institutions has been regarded as evidence of the relaxing effect of a warm climate. It appears, however, due to the

poverty caused by the undercutting of wages for manual work by Negro labour. The figures, quoted above, show that the white crofter in some counties has an even lower income than the black. As a remedy for this condition Tannenbaum hails the northward migration of the Negro as the possible salvation of the South ; for the labour would have to be replaced by European immigrants who would bring fresh energy and new ideas to the small farmers and agricultural workers.

Efforts to induce European agriculturists to settle in the southern states have been made, but have been frustrated by the low rate of wages, which are fixed by the primitive standard of life tolerated by the Negro. Parties of immigrants have been introduced, but their members drifted to the North as they found that they had been better off in Europe. Their successful settlement in the South would have been useful ; for the African has a poor reputation as an agriculturist. Maurice Evans (1916, p. 115) describes the Negro in South Africa as one of the worst cultivators in the world. Stone, a Mississippi planter, records (1908, p. 183) experiments on his estate in the Yazoo to test the relative efficiency of Negroes against Italians who were new to cotton and unused to the local conditions ; nevertheless the Italians proved more successful than the Negro to the extent of 115·8 per cent per head and 69·8 per cent per acre cultivated.

It has accordingly been suggested that the agricultural depression in the South might be removed by the introduction of Europeans to supplant the Negro, following the example of Kentucky, where tobacco cultivation has passed almost entirely from Negro to white workers.

The northward migration of the Negro promises to produce results on the internal policy of the United States which may be quite revolutionary. To counteract the reduced labour supply, the northern industrial regions, if they continue to develop, must enlist Negroes from the South. Those who go North will have to be admitted

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to the labour unions and so to full political life, otherwise he would become a strike breaker ; and if he continued to break strikes as he did in the steel trade, he would undermine the power of labour and be in constant strife with the white workers. The Negro is already so numerous in the North that, if organized, his vote could determine the elections for the Federal Parliament and Presidency in six or more states, including Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Delaware, and sometimes New York. The Negro vote probably will some day be so organized that it can wrest great concessions from the political party to which it is given.

The effects on the southern states of the continued departure of their Negroes would be still more vital ; whether they will continue to leave depends on their treatment. Numerous causes have been assigned for the migration, and most of them probably played some part. Different individuals were, no doubt, inspired by different motives. The report of the Commission on the Negro in Chicago (1922, p. 602) attributed the migration to low wages, unemployment owing to the ruin of cotton farms by the boll weevil, bad housing (p. 615), " the gross inadequacies of the southern schools for Negroes," and the low proportion of the educational funds spent on the Negro schools, where the teachers received \$2·89 per child as against \$10·32 in the white schools ; other causes confirmed by this Commission were mob violence, deprivations of the vote, injustice in the law courts, and persecution by " poor whites," the petty officers of the law, and the press.

The United States Department of Labour (1924, p. 35), after its investigation of the migration, enumerated as the causes, " poor wages, poor housing, abuses due to the overseer system of farming, inadequate educational facilities, the ' Jim Crow ' law, inequality in law enforcement, the labour contract law which renders possible the peonage system, mob violence, and disfranchisement."

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The Negroes themselves in a representative conference on the migration at Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, passed a resolution declaring that "the whole truth is that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the coloured people justly, and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization." They demanded the vote, for the sake of self-protection, "justice and a fair chance for all."

The continuance of the migration may force the South to give the Negro better and more secure conditions of life. Southern journalists, who realize the danger to southern agriculture of a reduction in quantity and a rise in the cost of its labour, have pointed out in emphatic leading articles that the Negro will not stay in the South unless he be given better schools and houses, higher wages and even-handed justice, and unless lynching be stopped. These things the South would doubtless be willing to concede if it did not believe that they would ultimately be followed by the vote. Many authorities in the South are, however, not prepared for any adequate concession, as is shown by the reply of the Governor of Mississippi to an enquiry from Chicago in reference to the return to that state of some of its Negro emigrants. "In reply I desire to state that we have all the room in the world for what we know as n-i-g-g-e-r-s, but none whatever for 'coloured ladies and gentlemen.' If these Negroes have been contaminated with Northern social and political dreams of equality, we cannot use them, nor do we want them. The Negro who understands his proper relation to the white man in this country will be gladly received by the people of Mississippi, as we are very much in need of labour." ("Crisis," Jan., 1920; quoted from Chicago "Herald-Examiner"; Seligmann, 1924, p. 275.)

Stephen Graham in the same year was impressed with the still uncompromising attitude of the southern people. "The South," he reports (1920, p. 77), "is, however, determined that the Negro shall never vote again. Year

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by year the coloured people grow in intelligence, in capacity, and in the number of its *intelligentsia*, but the South is not moved. It sees no explosion in the future, and makes no provision for one—will not, till the explosion come.” “If America does not cast out the devil of class-hate from the midst of her she will again be revisited by the Angel of Death as in the Civil War. . . . The force that makes for disruption and anarchy is generated silently and secretly. It accumulates, accumulates, and one day it must discharge itself. Its name is resentment, and its first expression is revenge” (*ibid.*, p. 260). From his study of affairs in the southern states in 1920, he reports (1920, p. 254) that some twelve million are becoming highly charged with resentment. One of the latest authors on the problem (Seligmann, 1924, p. 307) also adopts a similar view; he concludes “that the poison of colour hatred affects every phase of American life,” and “on the face of race relations now is written the word ‘menace.’”

The dilemma of the South, due to the migration of its Negroes, is that it must either reverse the disfranchisement policy of 1890 or import cheap labour from Europe. The latter course would require the modification of the Immigration Restriction Act and the introduction of sufficient Italian and Slav labour to reinvigorate southern agriculture. In a single year (1914) over 283,000 Italians have entered the United States; so adequate recruits are available. The settlement of Italians might have one result which the South dreads. The southern European does not share the Teutonic prejudice against intermarriage with coloured races, and extensive interbreeding between the Negroes and the white immigrants would be fatal to the policy of the absolute separation of the Caucasian and the Negro. The Italians would have to be admitted to the franchise, and it would then prove impossible to exclude Negro half-castes. Dread of a large hybrid race, due to increased settlement of Italians in the South, was one of the factors that favoured immigration restriction.¹⁰

X. THE NEGRO AS A CITIZEN

(a) *The Negrophobes*. The difficulty in the peaceful adjustment of interracial relations is that one section of American opinion regards the Negro with an almost incredible intensity of fanatical revulsion. Some of the Negrophobe literature is worth quotation to show how extreme opinion may be. The worst modern book of this kind that I have seen is one by Charles Carroll. It is dismissed by Mr. William Archer as scarcely sane. I am told, however, that it has had a large circulation and has been widely approved. Its title page represents its quality. "The Negro a Beast or in the Image of God. The Negro a beast but created with articulate speech, and hands, that he may be of service to his master—the White man. The Negro not the Son of Ham, neither can it be proven by the Bible, and the arguments of the theologian who would claim such, melt to mist before the thunderous and convincing arguments of this masterful book by Charles Carroll who has spent fifteen years of his life and \$20,000 in its compilation. Published by the American Book and Bible House, St. Louis, Mo." (1900, 382 pp.) The second chapter, pp. 45-74, is headed "Biblical and scientific facts demonstrating that the Negro is not an offspring of the Adamic family." Chapter IV, pp. 105-138, is entitled "Convincing Biblical and scientific evidence that the Negro is not of the human family." The author claims (p. 87) that "all scientific investigation of the subject proves the Negro to be an ape; and that he simply stands at the head of the ape family as the lion stands at the head of the cat family." The author holds that the Negro, not being human, has no soul. He concludes (*ibid.*, p. 129), regarding the problem, whether "a man married to a negress—will not their offspring have a soul? No, it is simply the product resulting from God's violated law, and inherits none of the Divine nature of man, but like its parent, the ape, it is merely a combination of matter and mind." The

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child of a half-caste and of a pure white, he proceeds, is also devoid of a soul.

As representative of a scientific extremist may be quoted Dr. R. W. Shufeldt, Major in the Medical Department of the United States Army. His book, "The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization" (1907), describes in detail and reproduces photographs of hideous barbarities perpetrated in some notorious cases of lynching. He declares (p. 145), "It would doubtless be a capital thing, if it could be done, to emasculate the entire Negro race and all its descendants in this country, and effectually stop the breed right now, and thus prevent any further danger from them, and the horrors of their crossing continually with the Anglo-Saxon stock." As Dr. Shufeldt recognizes that this scheme is impracticable, he insists that the whole Negro population should be transplanted to Africa.

W. P. Calhoun, who in some respects treats the problem with relative moderation, declares of the Negro (1902, p. 8), "in fact, if he has one single redeeming feature in his native character, it is not known." The literature of African travel is full of such stories as those of Mungo Park's Negro hostess on the banks of the Niger, of Livingstone's two faithful servants, and of tributes by African explorers to the devoted loyalty of their men. Such statements as that the Negro has not a single redeeming feature prejudice any case supported by them.

It is a pleasure to turn to other writings on the Negro which show American appreciation of his good qualities. Thus N. S. Shaler (1904, p. 141), a distinguished Professor of Geology, said, "the instances of devotion of black servants to their masters, as beautiful as any of fable, are innumerable, and of themselves warrant my contention that the race is richly endowed with that faith which makes men." "There can be no doubt that devoted faith is more easily possible to the Negro than to any other known man of his estate, and that on this foundation it is practic-

able with due guidance to establish a social order " (*ibid.*, p. 144).

The physical repulsion of the Negrophobes appears at first unintelligible to those who have known Negroes in Africa or in the West Indies. This feeling is a product of the combined dislike and fear generated when people of dissimilar cultures meet in competition for their daily bread. Those whose standards of life are threatened by cheap Negro labour cannot be expected to feel for him the affectionate regard held by those who have enjoyed his loyal and intimate service.

The deterioration of national character by race hatred is one of the apparently inevitable results of interracial association in conditions which include keen competition in manual labour.

(b) *The Negro as a Workman.* The Negroes as workers have serious defects which make them difficult of employment in some industries. When a few Negroes are living in a white community they readily adopt the habits of the men around them. Where, however, the Negro forms the bulk of the population, though he may be very efficient in short spells of work, he is generally regarded as unreliable in occupations which require patient industry and punctual attendance at particular times. Lord Bryce (1911, Vol. II, p. 552), who had unusually good opportunities for judgment on Negro labour in America and South Africa, concludes: the bottom of the labour question is that "the average Negro is an inefficient worker. He cannot be depended upon to come regularly to his work, and he does less in a given time. He plies his shovel with less vigour than an Irishman, and he is not so steady as a Chinaman. He has a still unchecked liking for vagrancy, and the Negro vagrant is prone to crime; these, after all, are the faults that depress him in the struggle for life. All that can be said is that they are the natural result of the previous conditions, that he is less lazy in the United States than in the West Indies, and that he is improving

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steadily if slowly—improving in the way which is surest, viz. by his own exertions and by the example of a few of the best among his own race.” This view is supported by testimony from many observers and from different points of view.

(c) *Negro Defects.* The faults mentioned by Bryce are not incurable. They are due to a thriftlessness and shiftiness which may be eradicated by the development of more regular habits. The Negroes as a rule are fond of wandering. They delight in railway journeys made for the sheer joy of travel, which is, after all, no more symptomatic of evil than the pleasure many people find in journeys by motor-car. The Negroes are often improvident of their time and spend much of it in dances and in gossip at the village store. They spend money in costly whims. They are extravagant in gaudy curtains and pictures which appeal to their sense of colour, and in gramophones which gratify their love of music. Their improvidence is reckless and it keeps many of them deplorably poor. The Negro shares to the full the inconvenient courage of the British workman who was represented in a Punch cartoon retorting to an aristocratic fellow-passenger at a railway restaurant, “I dare spend my last shilling and you daren’t do that.” Owing to that spirit of adventurous self-reliance Negroes are often penniless and easily tempted into debt.

The indifference of the Negro to his own interest is his most serious defect as a citizen. Among the more serious faults charged against him are that he is said to be an incorrigible thief. This accusation may have been true as regards chickens and pumpkins, which would be stolen by men who would return a lost purse untouched. Statistics show that the proportion of Negroes convicted of crime in the United States is much higher than that among the white race ; but crude statistics in such a matter are blind guides. According to Prof. W. F. Willcox, in the Atlanta University report on “Negro Crime” (Publication, No. IX, 1904, p. 9), the number of Negroes convicted is 3·3 per 1,000 as

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against 1 per 1,000 of whites ; but many of the convictions are for minor offences, due to vagrancy and its consequences, and to breach of sanitary regulations. The proportion of serious crimes is small. Some Negroes (e.g. Du Bois, 1903, p. 126) maintain that many of their race are accused and convicted simply that the southern prisons may obtain free labour. The truth of that accusation is obviously not one upon which an ordinary visitor to the United States can form an independent opinion ; but the existence of that belief, however improbable, illustrates the Negro distrust of the administration of the law, and of the possibly misleading nature of some criminal statistics.

The Negro is also accused of gross immorality, and the facts upon which this charge depends are largely due to a difference in traditional standards. African morality is fundamentally different from British. It was enforced in Africa with even sterner severity than that of the Puritan town described in Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Scarlet Letter." The American Negroes were not trained to European morality on the slave plantations. The marriage service for slaves in Massachusetts in 1710 (Atlanta Univ. Public., No. 8, Negro Church, 1903, p. 11), in which the bride promised "to cleave to her husband 'so long as God in his providence' and the slave trade let them live together" was not conducive to ordinary Christian morality. The Churches regarded separation of husband and wife under slavery as civil death and allowed them to marry again (*ibid.*, pp. 55-56).

The records of Hampton and Tuskegee show that the Negroes educated at those institutions have been exceptionally free from crime ; and, with the improvement of education, morality of the European standard has a better chance among the Negro people. This prospect is the better as that deep affection, which is the most striking feature in the Negro character, affords a firm basis for family life.

The worst crime charged against the American Negro

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is that of assault on women. According to some writers on this question white women in the southern states live under a constant terror. Dr. Shufeldt, e.g., says (1907, p. 250) of the white women in them none dare, or are permitted "to walk at twilight unguarded through the residence streets of a populous town or to ride the outside highways at midday." If that statement were true at the time it was written, conditions have greatly improved during the past seventeen years. The number of such assaults has probably been exaggerated by hysterical accusations; but in the discussion of this question in the Atlanta University Publications (No. IX, 1904, p. 56) it is admitted that after all the bogus cases and false charges are omitted sufficient remain to make every Negro bow his head in shame.

This crime is, however, not inevitable where Negroes and white people live together. It appears to be practically unknown among the Negroes in the British West Indies, and it may be expected to disappear as the relations of the two races improve.

(d) *Negro Merits.* The chief merits and capacities of the Negro are his affectionate disposition, his loyalty, his power of hard work, his delightful humour and good temper, and his high sense of musical expression and appreciation. The capacity of the Negro for work, under conditions that suit him, is shown by the proverbial phrase "to work like a nigger." He is most efficient in heavy manual labour for short spells; for the age-long system in most African tribes has been for the patient plodding agricultural and domestic work to be done by the women, while the men do the harder field work, serve as porters, or engage in war and hunting when they may have to execute feats of prodigious endurance. A Negro agriculturist is acting according to the immemorial habits of his race when he works behind his employer's back and loafs before his face. To an employer who has gained his confidence, the loyalty of the Negro is supreme, as when the slaves protected the families of their owners and

carried on the work of the plantations while the men were away in the Civil War. It has been shown in Africa by the almost unanimous testimony of competent explorers. No one who has walked month after month with the old Zanzibari porters, when they were carrying loads, which with their full equipment sometimes amounted to over 100 lbs. per man on a ration of a pound and a half of some cereal a day, can be persuaded that a Negro cannot or will not work.

More favourable estimates of the Negro are now often adopted in America. The report of the Commission on "the Negro in Chicago" appears to be the most comprehensive, careful, and impartial study of a large Negro community yet made in America; its results are very favourable to the Negro and encouraging as to his value as a citizen in a satisfactory environment. In many respects the Chicago Negro is under trying conditions; but the Commission dismisses the charges against him on the grounds of criminality, immorality, and indolence. Its investigation convinced its members that much of the "hostility toward Negroes is founded upon tradition which is itself without foundation in fact or justice" (*ibid.*, 1922, p. 643). It also points out that most of the literature on the Negro has been written by southern writers, and their views have greatly influenced northern opinion, and that various beliefs unfavourable to the Negroes "have become crystallized by years of unchallenged assumption" (*ibid.*, pp. 437-438).

XI. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

1. *RACE AMALGAMATION*.—For the solution of the interracial problem in the United States three main policies have been proposed—the fusion of the Negro and white races; the establishment of an informal *modus vivendi* under which the two races might live side by side, associated in work, but separate in social life; and various systems of segregation, including the removal of the Negroes

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to an external colony, or to a separate state, or to scattered Negro communities. The two first policies have the recommendation that they might be effected by natural drift, and do not call for any drastic measure which could only be enacted and enforced after interracial controversy.

The ultimate fusion of the white and coloured races will, according to some optimists, automatically and inevitably remove the difficulties. It is thought that the improvement in the financial position of the Negroes, the upgrowth of a highly educated professional class, and the increase in number of "near whites," must, in time, break down the social barriers and lead to the absorption of the Negroes in the white population. This process is regarded as the normal and perhaps inevitable development by many Americans and, amongst European authorities, by Lord Olivier and by Mr. H. G. Wells, who accepts this solution as the cure of race prejudice (cf. p. 227).

Race fusion is, however, scouted by the majority of Americans as simply unthinkable. The doctrine that one of the beneficent functions of America is to act as a "melting pot" for refugees from the varied peoples of Europe, is described by some authorities as a shibboleth and a delusion. It is still more emphatically rejected with regard to the possible absorption of from 10 to 12 million Negroes.

The idea of race amalgamation is utterly abhorrent to many Americans of both races. Some of them indignantly repudiate the possibility of the complete absorption of the Negroes and emphatically deny that any miscegenation is now taking place. It is true that some Negroes regard racial intermixture with complacency, because it may render the division between Negro and Caucasian indeterminate and thus break the social barriers; but some leading Negroes regard the results of mixed marriage as so unfavourable that they think it should be stopped in the interests of both races. Nevertheless, in defiance of personal objections and State laws, the two races are apparently being merged. The Census of 1910 recorded 2,050,686 mulattoes,

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which amounted to 20.9 per cent of those recorded as Negro.¹¹ The people of mixed races appears to be more and more numerous, although the typical mulatto (i.e. a person of whose parents one is pure white and the other pure Negro) is probably diminishing in number. The full-blooded Negro is still in the majority in many of the southern villages, but in the northern towns he is comparatively rare. Mr. J. Powell (Richmond, Virg., "Times-Despatch," 22nd July, 1923), in support of his view that "there is an enormous increase in numbers" of people with Negro blood, states that in forty-five minutes at one street corner in Richmond he was passed by "over 200 Negroes of whom only 5 were black, and in addition, by over 30 [other passengers] whom he could not certainly state whether they were white or black." This view is widely supported. Elwang (1904, p. 55) described race amalgamation as going on in Missouri at such a pace that it can "admit of only one result—the gradual disappearance of the negro *as a negro*." This process, he said, "is precisely what is taking place in Columbia," which is a small town that in 1900 included 1,916 Negroes with twice the number of whites. These statements are consistent with my own observations. I noticed, for example, that all, or nearly all, the students in the summer school at Fisk University in Nashville were of mixed race. Throughout the United States, and especially in the towns, the offspring of marriages between parents of mixed blood is reported to be steadily increasing. There are explicit laws against intermarriage, but they must be difficult to enforce. In Virginia the fifth clause of the 1924 "Act to preserve Racial Integrity" enacts—"It shall hereafter be unlawful for any white person in this State to marry any save a white person, or a person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian. For the purpose of this act, the term 'white person' shall apply only to the person who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian

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and have no other non-Caucasic blood shall be deemed to be white persons. All laws heretofore passed and now in effect regarding the intermarriage of white and coloured persons shall apply to marriages prohibited by this act."

According to this law if any man containing a slight percentage of Negro blood marries a white woman, they cannot legally live in Virginia. The Registrar of Vital Statistics in that state has recently announced that he notifies the state law officers of all such cases as come to his notice. He remarked that none of them had been taken into Court, a fact which suggests that the legal authorities regard this law as impracticable. Its enforcement would involve much trouble to innocent people. If it were discovered that the husband of a white woman had a slight trace of Negro blood, although she might have married in ignorance of the fact, her marriage would be void and her children would be bastards. The desire to stop by law interracial marriage and the birth of a hybrid population is natural ; but the attempt to prevent it between members of races who live side by side, speak the same language, and believe the same religion, is attended by many difficulties.

The prohibition of marriage between a white person and a "near white" must be sometimes as harsh as if, in some white community, in the desire to eliminate red hair, any marriage were annulled and the children made illegitimate because it had been found that either of the couple had a red-haired ancestor.

The Anglo-Saxon clubs, which originated in Virginia, are agitating for the extension of the laws against mixed marriages on the ground that "in no single instance has any race lived in contact with the Negro without eventually absorbing him," and that "there are but two solutions to a race problem—amalgamation or separation."

That the fate of the American Negro will be absorption in the white population is considered probable by many American observers. Some of them qualify their prediction of this result by stating that the process may take

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1,000 years ; but that estimate is probably expressed to allay dismay or displeasure at the prospect. The race amalgamation may take place on one of two lines. The Negro race may spread over most of the United States by continued northward migration ; and its absorption would then make the people of the United States as a whole something between octoroons and decaroons. The alternative process would happen if renewal of the old northern feeling led to the Negro being confined mainly to the South ; the amalgamation there would result in a race with a higher Negro population, and the bulk of the proportion of the south-eastern states would be between mulatto and quadroon.¹²

The extreme view of some American writers that " no race has ever maintained its civilization when tainted even slightly with African blood " (" News Leader," Richmond, Virginia, 5th June, 1923) need not be accepted ; but in view of the debt the world owes to the northern section of the white race—its dilution to the extent that would take place in the United States by the absorption of all its Negroes would be a disaster to humanity. Yet this occurrence is probable. Although I recognize that nothing seems to rouse more intense indignation among some Americans than the idea that racial intermixture is taking place in their country to any serious extent, the evidence seems to me overwhelmingly to support those who, like Prof. Bowman (1924, p. 17), report that " the mixture of the races goes on with increasing momentum."

2. *ASSOCIATED DISTINCTNESS*.—An alternative form of the trust-to-time policy which is recommended by some of the best of the Negro leaders is the continued existence of the two races side by side, with their association on equal terms in work, but with complete social separation. According to the famous analogy of Booker Washington, the white and coloured races should be as united in work as the palm of the hand, but as separated in social relations as the fingers.

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It is held that if the door of industrial and professional opportunity be widely opened to the Negro, social restrictions would be no more inimical to a contented community than is the separation in England between the squire and the peasant.

This policy recommends that the Negroes should develop as a separate society without ordinary social intercourse with their white fellow-citizens, and without restrictions that mean personal humiliation; but with intermarriage between the two races debarred in the interests of both. It also claims that the Negro should have equal opportunities in trade and work, including full admission to the professions. Booker Washington, in his day the chief exponent of this school, was content with a rate of progress which some of his fellows regarded as unduly slow. He advised the Negroes to devote their energies primarily to the improvement of education and the development of habits of industry and thus to strengthen their racial position. He predicted that they would in time inevitably secure those political privileges to which their merits entitled them.

The Booker Washington policy has been bitterly opposed by other Negro leaders. They denounce it as a dishonourable surrender of the Negro position, and declare that it has been a failure. The chief exponent of this section of Negro opinion is Dr. Burghart Du Bois, who was formerly Professor of English in the University of Atlanta. He gave up that position to edit the journal "The Crisis" and devote his life to advocacy of the Negro cause. His two books, "The Souls of Black Folk" (1903) and "Darkwater" (1920), are eloquent lamentations over the humiliations of his race. He recognizes that Booker Washington's policy was attractive and popular. It was welcomed in the South, he said, by both parties; since the one regarded it as a complete surrender of the Negro demand for civil and political equality, and the other as a working arrangement which might lead to general peace. Du Bois (1903, p. 43) declares that Washington's programme made its author

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"the most distinguished southerner since Jefferson Davis, and the one with the largest personal following." Du Bois urges, however, that it "practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races and the withdrawal of the demands by the Negroes for recognition as men and American citizens" (*ibid.*, p. 50). He holds that "manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it are not worth civilizing" (*ibid.*, pp. 50-51). According to Du Bois the Booker Washington policy "distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things. First, political power; second, insistence on civil rights; third, higher education of Negro youth—and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South." Du Bois and his party, on the other hand, state (*ibid.*, p. 53) that they "feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things. (1) The right to vote. (2) Civic equality. (3) The education of youth according to ability." They recognize that these concessions will not be granted at once, but they "are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them" (*ibid.*, p. 54). Du Bois holds that the Washington policy has been disastrous. He asks, "As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred: (1) The disfranchisement of the Negro. (2) The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro. (3) The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro."

C. W. Chestnutt (1903, p. 104), another Negro leader writing in 1903, agreed that "the rights of Negroes are at a lower ebb than at any time during the thirty-five years of their freedom, and the race prejudice more intense and uncompromising." Some of the Negro leaders believe that the Booker Washington policy has made matters worse

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by raising white jealousy at the progress of the blacks, and has increased the determination of the ruling class to strengthen the measures which maintain the inferiority of the Negro.

The great American experiment of the co-residence of a white race with several million free Negroes was begun in 1862 and has now been going on for over sixty years. According to some observers the race relations are improving so steadily as to encourage the belief, as expressed by Sir H. H. Johnston (1910, p. 481) that "the solution will probably be that the two races—white-skinned and brown-skinned—will co-exist in amity and common American citizenship in the 3,000,000 square miles of the United States." This opinion is, however, dismissed by another student with an African training, Maurice Evans, as due to failure to observe the tragedy of the American situation.

The possibility of the co-residence of two distinct races without fusion is regarded as doubtful by eminent authorities. Lord Bryce, who brought to this question the training of an historian, the experience of an observant traveller, and a wide reputation for sound judgment in affairs, has expressed his view that "whoever examines the records of the past will find that the continued juxtaposition of two races has always been followed either by the disappearance of the weaker or by the intermixture of the two" (Bryce, 1911, Vol. II, p. 532).¹³

This view is also expressed by some coloured Americans; thus, Prof. Kelly Miller (1908, p. 47) of Howard University, Washington, expresses the conviction "that two races cannot live indefinitely side by side, under the same general regime, without ultimately fusing." It is impossible, said the Hon. F. G. Newland (1909, p. 50), to make a homogeneous people by juxtaposition upon the same soil of races differing in colour. "Race tolerance means," he insists, "race amalgamation."

Some southern writers, however, consider that fusion is impracticable. Thus the Rev. E. G. Murphy (1904,

pp. 189-190) concludes that "the elementary contradiction of our situation lies, therefore, just here—in the very presence within our life of the vast numbers of a backward and essentially unassimilable people." Prof. A. B. Hart (1910, p. 349), whose opinion carries the weight due to that of the Professor of History at Harvard University, quoted three cases to prove that two races can live side by side indefinitely without uniting. They are the co-existence of the Muslim and Hindu in India, of the Boers and Kaffirs in South Africa ; and of the English and American Indians.

These cases, however, do not afford substantial support to the practicability of the permanent separate co-existence of Negroes and whites in the United States. The difference between Muslim and Hindu is in parts of India religious and not racial ; in other parts the Muslims are a small ruling caste who have conquered a Hindu community ; but the association of the two people in these areas is not on equal terms and in general they keep aloof. In eastern Bengal the Hindus and Muslims are intimately intermingled and belong to all grades of society ; but they are members of the same race and the distinction between them is religious. The division of India between the Hindu and Muslim communities is moreover its greatest source of weakness and difficulty.

In South Africa the difference of Boer and Kaffir is as great as that between the two races in America ; the relation is that of conqueror and conquered ; but the association has only lasted on a large scale and over an extended area for little more than a century. The future of South Africa is uncertain, owing to the doubt as to what the relations of the two races will be in a century's time (cf. Chap. V., pp. 129-140).

Prof. Hart's third case, that of British and Indian in America, appears to tell the other way ; as the Indians have been driven from the settled areas.

Other cases which naturally suggest themselves are those

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of the Jews, Parsees, and Gypsies. The long-continued distinctness of the Jews is probably due to the ghetto system, by which they have been artificially separated from the people amongst whom they lived. An informal ghetto has been maintained in practice where it is not legally enacted, as on the "East Side" of New York and in the Jewish parts of the east of London. Where the Jews have not been kept apart they have been steadily absorbed into the nation in which they live. The frequent uncertainty as to whether a person shows signs of Jewish ancestry illustrates the completeness of the gradation in England, where the well-marked strain has been maintained by the continued re-enforcement of the English Jews by emigrants from the continental ghettos. Much of the support to the Zionists and the Jewish Territorial Organization has been due to the belief that the nation would be lost in consequence of the modern breaking down of the ghettos, unless some territory could be secured as a national home.

The Parsees are a small commercial community and the Gypsies a tribe of nomads who appear to have been steadily altered by blood intermixture in most of the countries through which they roam.

The evidence appears to be against the possibility of the long-continued distinctness of two intermingled peoples.

3. *THE NEGRO AS STATE WARD*.—The extreme antithesis to the policy of the Du Bois party with its claim for the early grant of full political rights is that of the permanent disfranchisement of the Negroes as state wards under the protection of a special Government Board. This plan was recommended by W. P. Livingstone, a British writer with West Indian experience. He holds that the race conflict in the United States is becoming more and more bitter and dangerous, and he predicts that much farther drift will result in an appalling tragedy. This danger, he says, can only be averted by the straightforward recognition of the existence of race differences. His policy

would practically repeal the 13th and 15th amendments to the American Constitution on the ground that they have proved impracticable and that the United States has ceased the attempt to enforce them. Instead of being content with the nominal equality of the two races he would strive for improvement in the material status of the Negroes ; he would place them under a board of well-paid, highly qualified, carefully selected officials, whose duty it would be to secure fair treatment for their wards. The Negroes would have no votes for Congress, but would elect representatives to their board of guardians.

W. W. Elwang, in a monograph on the Negroes of the town of Columbia in Missouri, recommended the same policy, which was also supported by Prof. Ellwood in an introduction to that work. According to Elwang (1904, p. 67) the Negroes "ought to be treated as 'wards of the nation,' and as such dealt with by a department of the National Government treated for that purpose." He thinks this department should provide a separate school system with industrial training, separate Negro police and law courts. This policy includes the permanent political disfranchisement of the whole coloured race. He admits that this would be hard on some individuals, but remarks as a palliative that "vicarious suffering is ever the cost of progress everywhere."

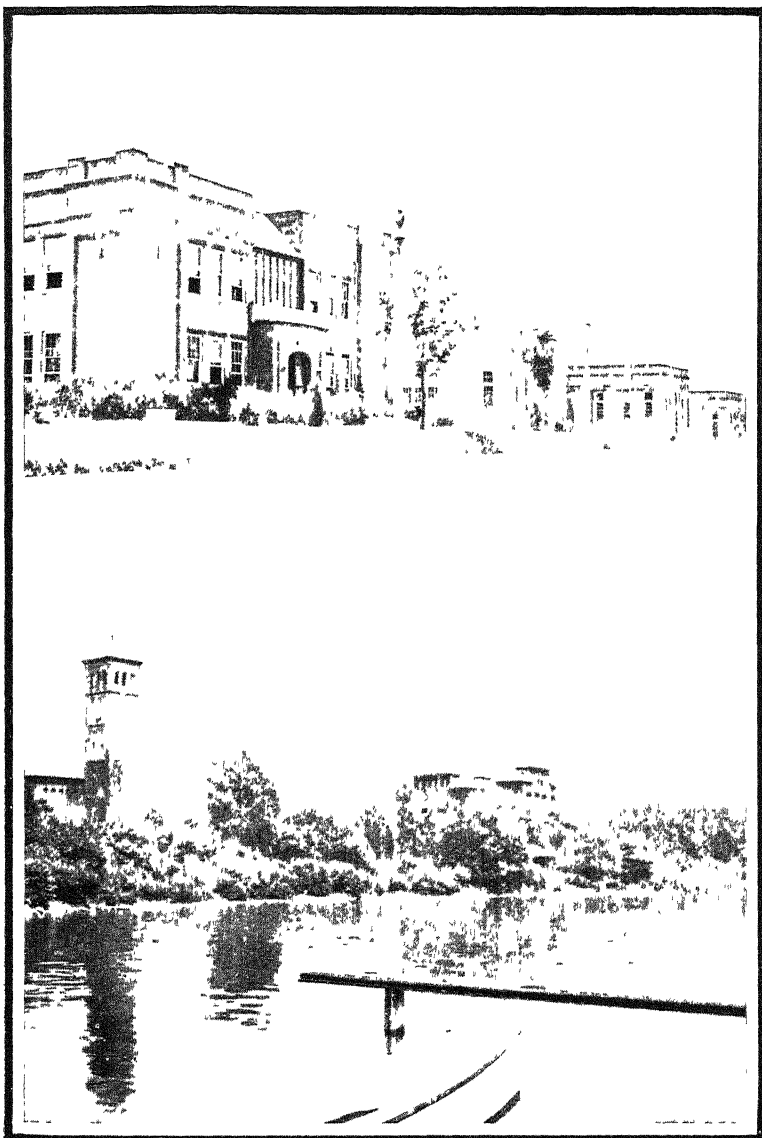
This orphan-child policy might have been adopted after 1865, but it is now too late. The proportion of Americans of mixed blood is estimated at between 1,200,000 and 3,500,000. In many of them the white element is greatly predominant, and the "near whites" would be placed in a most humiliating position if they were to be permanently disfranchised and ranked as political infants. The assignment of about one-seventh of the working population of the United States to a position of permanent inferiority would be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the American Constitution. The scheme seems quite impracticable, and it would be regarded by the Negroes, and

especially by the "near whites," as a worse degradation than any that they suffer at present.

4. *SEGREGATION—IN AFRICA OR THE WEST INDIES*.—As permanent associated distinctness seems impossible and amalgamation abhorrent, the segregation of the Negroes has been suggested either by sending them back to Africa—a scheme early advocated by the American Colonization Society (1817–40), and supported later by Abraham Lincoln,¹⁴ by the distinguished geologist E. D. Cope (1890), and more recently by William P. Pickett (1909)—or by their concentration in one district in the United States, as recommended by W. P. Calhoun (1902) and Mr. William Archer (1910).

The emigration of the Negro from America was advocated by William P. Pickett (1909, p. 337) in recognition of the claim that "the negro race is, as a matter of present condition, alien, inferior, and unassimilable, and is therefore not qualified to constitute an element of future American citizenship." This solution was favoured by Abraham Lincoln, who considered that though the Negro must be given freedom, in order that the supremacy of the white race in America might be maintained the Negroes should be removed to a colony outside the United States. Pickett (1909, p. 371) proposed, therefore, that the Negroes should be emigrated to such countries as Haiti and Liberia, and estimated that this policy could be carried through for the expenditure of 200,000,000 dollars a year in twenty years, or of 100,000,000 dollars a year for forty years. The Negroes were to be induced to go by a measure excluding all of them born after 1925 from American citizenship, and collecting all left in the States after that date into small areas, and absolutely prohibiting intermarriage between whites and blacks throughout the States.

It has often been said that though such a migration might have been possible in 1865, before all Africa had been divided between the European powers, it is now impossible, since there is no room for 12,000,000 American Negroes in



SOME OF THE WORKSHOPS AT THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA
 Showing the great extent of the industrial training there provided

PART OF THE HAMPDEN INSTITUTE, FROM THE HAMPDEN RIVER
 Founded by General Armstrong for the education of Negroes and American Indians
 at the close of the American Civil War

From photographs by the Author

Africa, and the transshipment of so many people would use up the whole of the Atlantic shipping ; and as the birth-rate among the American Negroes is about 300,000 a year the transport of that number would only deal with the new-comers. The transshipment of 10 or 12 million people is, however, not an impossible task. Between 1820 and 1912 the number of immigrants into the United States numbered 29,611,052. (Fairchild, 1923, p. 384.) In the decade from 1900 to 1910 the number of immigrants was 8,795,386. (*Ibid.*, p. 371.) In the year 1914 alone the number was over 1,200,000. Much of the migration in recent years is said to have been due to canvassing by the steamship companies ; and if they could arrange so great a movement the United States should be able to transplant 12,000,000 people in the course of a quarter or half a century. There is also no insuperable difficulty as to lack of room. According to Pickett, Liberia, with an area of 41,000 square miles, instead of its present population of about 2,000,000, should accommodate 20,000,000. That estimate may be too high, but if adequately developed Liberia might well support an addition equal to that of all the Negroes in the United States ; and as Liberia is under its financial supervision, the admission of the immigrants should be negotiable. Haiti, with an area of 30,000 square miles, by an additional population of 200 to the square mile, could accommodate half the coloured population of the United States. The war has shown that, if necessary, a great nation can transfer people by the million even when harassed by the special difficulties of war.

The emigration of the Negroes, though not an impossible feat, may, however, be politically impracticable. The Negroes will not go voluntarily, and they can hardly be expelled. Their return to Africa is being persistently advocated by Marcus Garvey, who according to some of his critics is a traitor to his race ; he has many adherents among it. The Liberian Government has announced its intention of refusing admission to any of his followers ; but

his vigorous campaign shows that the idea of removing the American Negro to Africa is not dead. Even their compulsory expatriation has some supporters. One recent correspondent tells me that it is hoped by an existing organization to secure an amendment of the Constitution by which, in thirty years' time, all persons of colour will have been removed from the United States.

5. *SEGREGATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES*.—The second scheme of segregation has also been widely discussed. Jefferson is quoted by W. P. Calhoun (1902, p. 81) as holding the view "that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government"; so Calhoun proposed a state, west of the Mississippi, where the Negro "will be separated from the white man absolutely." He would make it a crime for any white man to live in that state (Calhoun, 1902, p. 145). This scheme has received the support of Mr. William Archer, whose observations in the United States impressed him with the increasing gravity of the position. He recommends the assembly of the Negroes in a special state in the western or south-western part of the United States. This plan might have been possible after the Civil War, before the occupation of the country to the west of the Lower Mississippi; but now that there is no large tract of unoccupied fertile land in the United States there is no unappropriated area large enough for a Negro state.

Either segregation policy would, moreover, be violently objected to by the southern whites even if the Negroes agreed to go; for the planters are still mainly dependent on the Negro for labour. The southern states have passed laws to hamper attempts to enlist black labour for service in other parts of the United States, and have taken prompt measures to eject people who come "to steal their niggers." The emigration of the Negroes in mass would ruin the southern planters. Concentration in a special state would only be practicable if the movement were to be gradual, so

that the Negroes could be replaced by labourers from Southern Europe.

The only segregation policy which appears to be within the bounds of practicability is that recommended amongst others by Maurice Evans, who made a careful study of the conditions in the United States for comparison with the problems in South Africa. He recommends the development of small self-contained agricultural Negro communities, which would be protected against race friction by their isolation, while they would be in friendly business association with the neighbouring whites for the disposal of their produce. This policy would depend on the success of the Negro as a small farmer ; and there seems no reason why under fair conditions he should not do well, and learn to co-operate with his fellows for the purchase and joint use of machinery and sale of produce. This scheme has the advantage that except for some occupations which require great physical strength and endurance, such as mining or iron working, the Negro is most efficient in agriculture. There are large areas in the southern states which are unused, or inadequately used, and where land could be purchased at low rates. Negroes can earn wages from which, with economy, they could save enough in a few years to buy small holdings where, with diligence, intelligence and luck, they should earn a good living.

This policy recognizes that owing to the essential differences between the white and Negro races some measure of separation is best for both, and that no race intermixture should be tolerated. Mr. Evans considers that on such lines the two races might live in the same country without either fusion or clashing. The present trend, he recognizes, is towards increased hostility between the two races ; but he thinks that the establishment of self-contained advancing Negro communities might alter the trend in the direction of better hope for the Negro, and greater mutual help for both. Even, however, if the Negro becomes a thrifty patient worker, capable of sufficient far-sightedness

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and self-sacrifice to subordinate his immediate pleasures to his remote interests and develop into an intelligent and patient agriculturist, Evans (1915, p. 279) admits that this scheme would be no final solution of the problem. So far as he could see ten years ago "there is no final solution possible, and the Negro will remain a problem for generations to come."

XII. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

If then, of the three policies, absorption be abhorrent to both races, and the continued association as separate races and segregation are both impossible, what course remains? The matter will probably drift to some natural solution, and not be settled by any measure forced on the country by one section of American opinion. Drift is the easiest movement in complex situations. Prediction as to its course is hazardous, but there are some indications of its probable direction. The most significant recent drift has been that of the Negroes northward under the lure of wages which southern agriculture cannot pay, and of a status which the South will not grant. The resultant shortage of labour in the cotton fields may be made up by the introduction of cheap European labour either directly, if the Immigration Act of 1924 be amended, or by some of the 500,000 Italians who are to be introduced into Mexico in accordance with a recent Mussolini-Mexican treaty (Helmer Key, 1924, p. 88) slipping across the frontier. As the prejudice against racial intermarriage is not so strong amongst the Latin and Slav as it is with the Teutonic peoples, the association of Negroes with labourers from southern and eastern Europe would probably be followed by the widespread hybridization which is the predominant ethnographic feature of tropical South America. Such a development would render impossible the continued refusal of political and municipal rights to any citizen who has a trace of coloured blood. In time, though it may be long delayed, the coloured people in the south-eastern States must regain

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their municipal and parliamentary suffrage. The Booker Washington policy expects that with improved personal and material conditions the Negro will secure full political rights and his due influence in the southern states. If the Negroes improve their educational and financial position they cannot be denied votes without direct infringement of the 14th and 15th amendments of the Constitution. If a sufficient number are enfranchised the normal political development in the southern states will be impossible. The members of the European race could not divide on the lines of capital and labour, or into the two American parties of Republican and Democrat. For if the southern white residents continued to take sides in the general political life of the United States, the Negro would hold the balance of power and could secure the return of whichever party offered him the best terms. Either the southern whites would be cut off from ordinary American politics as an anti-Negro party, or they would risk the election to Congress of a sufficient number of Negro nominees to hold the balance of power between the Republicans and Democrats. The whole policy of the United States might be decided by the Negro vote.

The political power of the Negro would be strengthened by the increase in numbers which should result from his improved education and domestic conditions; for they should ensure a great reduction in the heavy rate of mortality among Negro infants, and further the lengthening of the life of Negro adults, which assurance statistics show is already in progress. Thus the returns published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York ("World's Health," Geneva, V, Jan., 1924, pp. 25, 26) state that between 1912 and 1922 the length of life of its policy holders increased by $5\frac{1}{2}$ years for Negroes and by 6 years for Negro women, and by only 3.8 years for white women. A lower Negro death-rate might be counteracted to some extent by a reduced birth-rate; but that change would probably not be sufficient to prevent a marked increase in the Negro

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population in the States. Instead of the estimate by Prof. Willcox (1908, p. 503), that in the year 2000 the Negro population in the United States would not be more than 24 million and might be several million less than that amount, it might by that date, if the high Negro birth-rate be maintained, be 40 million. The Negroes might then, as a third political party, determine the United States policy. This possibility, more or less unconsciously formulated, was probably Booker Washington's ideal. He recognized that for the Negroes in his lifetime to demand the rights of full citizens would have been futile; but he trusted that by the improvement and consolidation of the Negro position, full voting power and the influence it would carry would inevitably be gained in time.

If the Negro and hybrid community acquire a commanding vote in the south-eastern states, some differences in laws and regulations would become necessary between them and the northern and western states. The upgrowth of a distinct but politically powerful race group in the south-east would probably be most conveniently managed by those states constituting a union with some degree of federal autonomy. The north-eastern, central and the western states might also find it convenient to unite as local groups, to adapt themselves to their special conditions. Hence the ultimate issue of the Negro problem in the States may be the establishment, in consequence of the development of a large Negro-Latin population, of a south-eastern union, and of perhaps other autonomous groups each with such special legislation as may be adapted to its particular ethnical problems and circumstances.

¹ Teutonic, says "Webster's Dictionary" (ed. 1907), is "now used to designate a German, Dutchman, Scandinavian, etc., in distinction from a Celt or one of a Latin race." Ripley uses Teutonic, and his example justifies its retention.

² The usual estimates vary from 10 million to 15 million. The official figure for the last census, 1920, of the population (exclusive of Alaska; "Statist Abstr. U.S. for 1922" (1923), pp. 36-37) is total, 105,710,630, including Negro 10,463,131 and white 94,820,915. According to a weighty

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criticism of the last census results by Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard University (1924, p 169), the number of Negroes returned is too small by at least 300,000. In the 1910 census Negro enumerators were employed in many counties where the Negro population is larger than the white. According to some authorities the number of Negroes was deliberately understated by some of the enumerators in the 1920 census. The estimate of the Negro number as 15 million would make the proportion 1 Negro to 6 whites. The proportion is probably 1 Negro to 7½ or 8 whites. In this chapter the term Negro is used to include any white half-caste in whom there is any recognisable Negro element. The term coloured is used for Negroes, Indians, and Asiatics and intermixtures between those races, or between any of them and Caucasians.

³ A eulogy of the work of Tuskegee by an Australian visitor has been published by Sir J W Barrett (1918, Vol I, pp 152-157). He remarks that "it really appears as if he [Booker Washington] had led the world from the educational point of view."

⁴ For sketches of distinguished American Negroes, see Dunbar in the "Negro Problem," 1903, pp. 187-209. For their contributions to art cf Benj Brawley, "The Negro in Literature and Art," 1918.

⁵ The Jubilee Singers made their first tour in 1871 to raise the money for the erection of the women's dormitory and the boarding department of the Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee, which was founded in 1866. The building, which cost \$100,000, is known as the Jubilee Hall and was dedicated in 1876.

⁶ Some support to this view is given by the warning of Ed Mims (1920, pp 10-12) that one of the causes of the migration to the northern states is the sense of injustice due to wholesale arrests; he quotes the reason given by some Macon Negroes for moving to Ohio, "where they didn't arrest 50 niggers for what three of 'em done."

⁷ The women members of the Georgia State Committee on Race Relations have declared that lynching is "no protection to anything or anybody."

⁸ A valuable summary of the organizations is given in a pamphlet by W. D Weatherford (1920) on "Interracial Co-operation," published by the International Committee of the War Work Council of the Y M C A.

⁹ The quota as regards the British Isles has not worked out as was expected, owing to the establishment of the Irish Free State separating the South Irish and British quotas.

¹⁰ Most of the American-Italians are in the northern states. According to the 1920 census ("Stat Abstr U.S., 1922," p 62) there were 1,610,109 Italians in the United States; there were 16,264 in Louisiana, 4,745 in Florida, 2,732 in Alabama, and 700 in Georgia. The small number in the two last states is probably due to their cheap Negro labour. If the Negro migration to the North continues a return flow of Italians to the South might ensue.

¹¹ The number of Negroes of mixed blood in the United States is variously estimated at from 1,200,000 to 3,500,000.

¹² The reduced death-rate of the Negro in recent years, his increased longevity, and the lower infantile death-rate which would naturally result

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from improved housing, sanitation, and education, would increase the Negro proportion.

¹³ Lord Bryce (1911, p. 533) referred, as one of the small exceptions, to the Maoris as "a community likely to continue distinct." I have recently been informed by a competent visitor that though the Maori may remain politically distinct as property holders under special conditions, they now nearly all have some European blood, and will not long remain racially distinct. Bryce (*ibid*, p. 536) described the Negro as "unabsorbable."

¹⁴ Lincoln in 1865 ordered enquiry to be made as to the possible transportation of the Negroes overseas by the Navy, as he said, "I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace unless we get rid of the Negroes" (Charles Wesley, 1919, p. 20).

CHAPTER III

Asiatic Immigration in the United States

“ Ah Sin was his name
And I shall not deny
In regard to the same
What that name might imply ;
But his smile it was pensive and childlike,
As I frequent remarked to Bill Nye.

Then I looked up at Nye,
And he gazed upon me ;
And he rose with a sigh,
And said ‘ Can this be ?
We are ruined by Chinese cheap labour ’ ,
And he went for that heathen Chinese ”

BRET HARTE, “ Plain Language from Truthful James.”

THE history of the efforts made by the Pacific Coast States to restrict the entrance of Asiatics is a long record of misunderstanding and discord. The struggle was of the violence that appears inevitable in issues connected with the close association of different races. The problem arose on the gold discoveries of California in 1849. The rush to the new goldfields was particularly attractive to the Chinese as their country had been devastated by a long civil war. By 1852 there were 25,000 Chinese in California. All foreigners were at first regarded as pirates, and were no more welcomed than would have been burglars plotting to rob ingots from the New York banks. The American officials appointed to administer the mining fields proclaimed in 1849 their intention to exclude all foreigners who went there to steal the American gold. (Mary R. Coolidge, 1909, pp. 26-7.) Such blind officials were naturally incompetent to carry through this policy, and the foreign miners made good their position.

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The Californian pioneers felt that they deserved high wages and special consideration by the United States in reward for the daring of their trans-Continental journey and their settlement in so remote a province. They, moreover, insisted that the western coast states required special protection, as they were so difficult of access overland, and were so open to migration oversea from eastern Asia. The Chinese immigrants, on the other hand, were content with low wages, for they were accustomed to simple conditions of life. The rough western settlers regarded the Chinese as the chief obstacle to the establishment of a labour Eldorado, and being utterly ignorant of Chinese culture regarded them as despicable barbarians, given over to all sorts of heathen practices. Bret Harte's poems expressed the popular opinion of American mining camps. A more explicit estimate is that by F. M. Pixley who, in evidence before the United States Congressional Committee in 1876, stated that "the Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. . . . I think there are none so low. . . . I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, they are not worth the saving."

The Labour Party on the Pacific Coast was in a position of especial difficulty. Artisans were at the mercy of organized capital, owing to their distance from other centres of employment. The local industries were at first protected from eastern competition by their isolation ; but on the opening of the railways wages fell without any corresponding decrease in the cost of living. The Labour leaders saw, moreover, that the Chinese might be introduced in numbers sufficient to crush them in case of long industrial strife. Nothing is so mentally distorting as fear ; and Labour, realising its position, fell under the control of the extremists who founded the movement known as Kearneyism. (cf. Bryce, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 426-8.) The Labour Party was therefore compelled to organize, and was imbued with intense jealousy of Asiatic immigrants. Municipal corruption flourished in California, and the Chinese were

the victims both of labour hostility and blackmail by dishonest officials. A beat in the Chinese quarter was said, according to Mary R. Coolidge (1909, p. 417), to have been worth to a San Francisco constable from 500 to 1000 dollars a month.

The Labour Party soon obtained a dominant position in the Californian legislature, which passed an act to stop Chinese immigration. The act was declared unconstitutional by the American Supreme Court, and California appealed to the Federal Parliament of the United States to enact the measure which had thus been annulled. A vigorous agitation in 1876 secured the appointment by both the Californian State Legislature and the Federal Parliament of special committees of investigation. Their reports were both strongly anti-Chinese, and in 1879 a Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by the Federal Parliament. It was vetoed by President Hayes, apparently on the view that it was demanded only by the Kearneyite party. Californian opinion was, however, practically unanimous on this question, and in a poll taken the same year 161,405 voted against and only 638 for the continuation of Chinese immigration. In accordance with this overwhelming balance of local opinion the United States Government arranged in 1880 a treaty with China, by which further immigration of Chinese might be limited or suspended, but not prohibited. In 1881 G. F. Seward, who had been the United States Ambassador in China, tried to stem the tide of anti-Chinese feeling; he urged that the Chinese labourers in the West had been most useful and were still needed there, and that there was no danger of any large influx. His book failed in its appeal, and in 1882 an act was passed, in nominal accordance with the treaty, by which the entrance of Chinese immigrants was suspended for ten years. In 1888 another act refused to allow any Chinaman who had left the States to return unless he had left there a family, or property worth a thousand dollars. In 1892 the 1882 act was renewed for another ten years; and in 1902 it

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was renewed indefinitely. The term "suspension" mentioned in the treaty was thereby interpreted as permanent prohibition. The Chinese were only allowed to enter the United States as merchants, teachers, students, or travellers for pleasure or curiosity.

Throughout these long negotiations the attitude of the Chinese Government had been courteous and dignified. It fully admitted the right of the United States to place such limitations on the entrance of foreigners as were felt to be necessary. Many American economists, such as Prof. Mary Coolidge of San Francisco (1909, pp. 486-96), considered that the restriction was unnecessary and the arguments used in its support baseless or founded on misunderstanding. The fall of wages which had strengthened the violent prejudice against the Chinese was due to the competition of the eastern states and not of the Asiatic labourer. He did not as a rule work for low wages. A Chinese cook, for example, was a luxury which only the rich could afford. Most of the Chinese soon withdrew from the ranks of wage-earners and became independent contractors and traders. They did less to lower wages than the Europeans from southern and eastern Europe who were freely admitted. The danger of the Chinese as competitors was due to their high efficiency. The economists had no difficulty in proving that the arguments of the anti-Chinese party were exaggerated or fallacious; but this dialectic victory did not dispose of the dangers of Asiatic immigration.

In 1905 the anti-Asiatic agitation was renewed and then directed mainly against the Japanese. In 1886 there were only 1,880 Japanese in California, but after that date their numbers increased rapidly. By 1905 there were 10,000 in America, and the inflow was increasing. Accordingly, in February, 1905, the "San Francisco Chronicle" began a violent agitation against further Japanese immigration, and a unanimous appeal to the Federal Congress to prohibit it was made by the Californian Senate on the 1st of

March. The feeling against the Japanese was much stronger than against the Chinese. The Japanese had not entered the States in time to help materially in the pioneer work of West American development ; whereas the Chinese were widely scattered through the States and were no political danger, and they were largely employed in such useful work as laundrying and market gardening. Their number in the United States in 1909 was 300,000, but in California it was only between 30,000 and 35,000. The Japanese in the United States in 1909 numbered 130,000, of whom about 60,000 were settled in California when its population was 2,377,549 (1910). The fertility of the Japanese women, who are imported after selection by photographs and are therefore known as "picture-brides," has raised the American-born Japanese to a number that has alarmed California. The Census of 1920 gave returns for California of 28,812 Chinese, 71,952 Japanese, and a total of 3,426,861. The birth-rate of the white American is declining seriously ; while that of the Japanese is so high that it has been seriously predicted that by 1949 the American-born Japanese will form the majority of the Californian population. [cf. L. Stoddard, 1920, p. 288.] The Japanese are widely believed to be less honest commercially than the Chinese. Much of the fruit picking in California is by Japanese, and by manipulating the labour supply when the fruit harvest is ripe, they can prevent a white grower selling his crop ; he is squeezed out and compelled to sell his property to his Japanese rivals at a low price.

According to Mr. Helmer Key (1924, p. 43), who is editor of a leading Swedish paper, "The Svenska Dagbladet," the Japanese, including a few Chinese holdings, "hold from 80-90 per cent of the entire fruit orchards of California." "They are," he says, "a state within a state." He there expresses the main difficulty with Asiatic immigration, which early led to the feeling against them in Australia. The eastern Asiatics are not assimilable. They have no

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intention of becoming citizens of the land wherein they settle. Their entrance is a peaceful invasion and not colonization.

The feeling against the Japanese settler in the Pacific Coast States has become strong and bitter. The appeal to the Federal Parliament for legislation against Japanese immigration has, however, been prejudiced in the eastern states by the methods used to secure the anti-Chinese legislation. The regulations against the Chinese were often harshly enforced and had caused deplorable tragedies. The effort to carry through corresponding anti-Japanese legislation in California therefore encountered strong hostile opinion. Theodore Roosevelt, when President of the United States, took up the case against the western states with characteristic impetuosity. In 1906 the San Francisco earthquake occasioned the rebuilding of parts of the city, and special schools were then set aside for Asiatic children in spite of this vigorous protest. Roosevelt's interference on behalf of the Japanese was denounced as the most unwarranted encroachment that had been made by the Federal Government on state rights. American opinion was, however, convinced that the entrance of the Japanese must be stopped. Japan tactfully avoided the need for direct prohibition by agreeing to prevent the departure of her coolies for the States. This agreement remained in force from 1907 to 1924, when a bill which mentioned the Japanese as sharing in the general Asiatic exclusion was introduced into the United States Parliament. It was carried almost unanimously, apparently in consequence of the interpretation of a letter by the Japanese Ambassador, who deplored the abandonment of the arrangement by which for seventeen years Japanese coolies had been in fact excluded from the United States.

Whether the Japanese immigration into the States be prevented by the Japanese Government prohibiting the departure of coolies for America, or by the United States barring their entry is a matter of detail. The Japanese protests are

probably due to disappointment that instead of American feeling against Asiatic immigration having moderated it has strengthened. In spite of the excesses by which the Californians damaged their case against Chinese immigration the conviction has become general throughout the States that the restriction of Asiatic immigration is advisable. E. D. Cope (1890), for example, after remarking that "the maltreatment of particular Chinese is a stain on the name of our country," approved the exclusion of Asiatics.

Fairchild (1923, p. 104), one of the leading authorities on American immigration, said that the restriction of the Asiatic immigration had saved western America from a danger as serious as the Negro problem in the southern states. C. H. Rowell (1909, p. 9), although remarking that the Chinese were honest and reliable as workers, declared that if the immigration restrictions were removed the states on the western coast would be swamped by Asiatics.

The intensity of the objection to Asiatic immigration on the western coast states may appear difficult to understand in consideration of the many admirable qualities of the Chinese and Japanese and their high efficiency as workers. The feeling is due to recognition of the strength in organization and adroitness in negotiation which render the Eastern Asiatic a more serious industrial competitor than the Negro. The Chinese labour guilds are managed with consummate ability; the Japanese are masters of the art of boycott and of ruining competitors by acts of commercial war. The orientalizing of Hawaii is a standing warning to the Pacific coastlands. If the United States with its population of over 105,000,000, with its long experience of the problems, and aware of the commercial advantages to its western provinces of increased intercourse with Asia, adopts the policy of absolute exclusion of Asiatic settlers, their admission to countries with a smaller population and larger unoccupied areas requires cautious control.

CHAPTER IV

South America

"When I was but thirteen or so
I went into a golden land,
Chimborazo, Cotopaxi
Took me by the hand
- - - - -

I dimly heard the master's voice
And boys far off at play,
Chimborazo, Cotopaxi
Had stolen me away.
- - - - -

I walked home with a gold dark boy
And never a word I'd say,
Chimborazo, Cotopaxi
Had taken my speech away.
- - - - -

The houses, people, traffic seemed
Thin fading dreams by day,
Chimborazo, Cotopaxi
They had stolen my soul away !

W J TURNER

THE special features of the race problem in South America are the result of the geographical contrasts between the three sections of the continent, and its occupation by three inextricably mingled races. The bulk of South America is tropical, and in that part of the continent Nature has been supremely generous in her gifts; most of this land is at a low level and the broad valleys rise gradually inland. The mountains on the western side, which are themselves exceptionally rich in useful minerals, have a heavy rainfall and their drainage feeds mighty rivers. They, unlike those of Africa, instead of flowing across a high plateau and plunging over its edge in cataracts near the sea, descend gently through long valleys and are navigable by ocean-going steamers into the

heart of the continent. South America has the finest system of natural inland waterways in the world. The land beside the rivers enjoys the warmth of the low-lying tropics, and as it is well watered and has a deep rich soil, the country is of luxuriant fertility. There is comparatively little barren land and the crops include many products which secure high prices in the temperate zone. No equally large area in the world has so high an average of fertility. Owing to its geographical structure, favourable climate, rich soil, and its endowment in valuable vegetable products, tropical South America may become the most productive area in the world in raw materials.

The second division of the continent lies along the belt between the tropical and warm temperate zones, which has in general a low rainfall. This arid zone occurs where the continent is narrowing to the south, and both its width from north to south and length east and west are relatively small. It extends obliquely across the continent and bends northward along the western coast. Its desert character is most marked where the cold Humboldt Current, which flows northward, renders the off-lying islands and coast lands almost rainless. These areas compensate for their aridity by their richness in such profitable minerals as nitrate and guano.

The arid belt across the continent forms a natural barrier between the exuberant tropics and the temperate lands of the Argentine and Chile. The northern part of both these states belongs to the arid zone, but to the south the rainfall increases, the land is more fertile, and it has been developed as one of the greatest pastoral regions of the world. This temperate region has attracted many white settlers and is now firmly held as a white man's land. Chile especially has attracted emigrants from northern Europe, and its political stability has been often attributed to the high proportion of them among its people. The race problem in the temperate region of South America is simple, for its aboriginal Indian population was sparse and

has been swamped and absorbed by European settlers. The political difficulties of the arid belt are simplified by the smallness of its population. In the tropical belt the race problem is more difficult. Nature offset its prodigality in material wealth by its niggardliness as regards inhabitants; they were few and not of the stuff of which great nations are made.

Parts of southern Brazil have a cool climate and are held by the white race; but all tropical South America, including most of Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Guianas, are now occupied by members of the three races—European, Indian, and Negro. South America is often described as held by a Latin race. This misconception is based on the fact that the two predominant European races in tropical South America, the Spaniards in the north and west, and the Portuguese in Brazil, speak Latin languages; they are, however, not Latin people. Both are composite races; each has a strong Berber element owing to the Moorish invasions of the peninsula. The other main element of the Spaniards is Teutonic from the Visigoths, and of the Portuguese is Celtic, as the Atlantic coast of the peninsula was held by that section of the Mediterranean group.¹

The conquest of South America was accomplished by Spaniards and Portuguese under conditions which naturally led to their intermarriage with the natives. South America was inhabited only by American Indians who are a section of the Mongolian division of Mankind. They are less alien in race to the European than the Negro. The black-haired, dark-eyed, round-headed short Alpine people of Europe are themselves in part Mongolian. They entered Europe from Asia from the western border of the pure Mongolian race, of which there is a recognizable element in their composition. The European mixes more easily and satisfactorily with the Mongolian than does either race with the Negro. All South America, with the exception of Brazil, fell under the dominion of Spain; and the bold Spanish

adventurers who achieved the conquest and the early settlers were accompanied by few of their own women. The Spaniards who settled in South America mated with the Indians and contributed to the country a numerous hybrid race known as the Mestizo. In later times, as misfortunes fell on Spain and the conditions in South America improved, many Spanish families settled in that continent and some of them have kept their European blood undiluted. What proportion of the population of South America that is classified as Spanish is of pure European descent is doubtful. The uncertainty is increased by the fact that, in opposition to the rule in the United States, everyone of whom any appreciable proportion is European is classified as white. An intermixture of Indian blood is regarded as no social disadvantage. The marriage of a pure Spaniard to a pure Indian is no doubt exceptional, because the two races do not come much into social contact ; but there is said (e.g. Bryce, 1912, p. 471) to be no more prejudice against mixed marriages than there is in Europe against that of people of distinct social classes. The limitation of intermarriage in South America is by class and not by colour.

The number of pure-bred Spaniards in South America decreased after the Spanish dependencies became independent in the early part of last century ; for the immigration of officials ceased and many of the families returned to Spain. The statistics of population in most of the South American states are unreliable and are especially imperfect as to the proportion of the different race elements. The estimates of the number of pure Spaniards in Ecuador varies from about 40 per cent down to 10 per cent ; and even the latter figure is said to include many people with a strain of Mestizo. The estimates of many independent authorities² on South America indicate that the number of people who are practically of pure Spanish descent is less than 10 per cent. From this minority of Europeans the passage through the Mestizo to the Indian is by imperceptible gradations. The South American race is in the

main hybrid. It has many attractive features ; the people are emotional, eloquent, and poetical ; but these artistic qualities have been developed at the expense of the utilitarian capacities and instincts, and of the insight necessary to a successful industrial community. The recognition in South America of the tendency of the present race to become predominantly academic and doctrinaire, and to neglect the practical walks in life, has been shown by the abolition in Brazil and Chile³ of the degree of Doctor, in order to discourage overcrowding into law, medicine, and literature.

Many visitors to South America have reported, as the main factor in its development, the completeness of the fusion of the Spaniards and Indians. In the Portuguese colony of Brazil the race conditions have become even more mixed. The settlement of Brazil began at a time when there was an excessive drain on Portugal by the effort to develop its vast colonial territories in Africa, Asia, and the East Indies. Portugal was thrown into confusion by the emigration of the men and the flocking of the rural population into the cities to profit by the inflow of wealth from overseas. The population of Portugal is estimated to have decreased during the sixteenth century from 2,000,000 to less than 1,100,000. The growing wealth of Portugal was accompanied by frequent famines, and the decline in population was partly due to epidemics among people weakened by the failure of food supplies. The land fell out of cultivation until Negroes were imported to replace the cultivators who had emigrated to the colonies. These slaves intermarried with the excess of Portuguese women left by the emigration of the men, and were absorbed into the nation. The strength of this intermixture can be recognized by the negroid features often seen in Portugal, and even in some members of the most distinguished families. Meanwhile numerous Portuguese-Negro half-castes were born in Brazil. The Portuguese settlement of that country was more difficult than that of

Spanish South America owing to the relative sparseness and more primitive condition of the Indian population. The Portuguese found no such highly organized and populous communities as those whom the Spaniards conquered in Peru. The supply of labour in Brazil was quite inadequate for the cultivation of the vast tracts of fertile soil. Accordingly Negroes were imported as slaves. The importation began about 1600, but for a long time the numbers were small. The South American slave trade received a great impetus when the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies ruined the plantations in those islands. Between 1825 and 1850 the number of slaves taken into Brazil is estimated at about one and a quarter million (Bryce, 1912, p. 404). Slavery was finally abolished in Brazil in 1888. The Negro population in Brazil was estimated by Sir H. H. Johnston (1910, p. 483) as 8,300,000. The Portuguese intermarried in Brazil with the Negroes (the offspring being mulattoes) as well as with the Indians (the offspring being known as *mamelucos*, a corruption of the Egyptian name *mameluke*).⁴ In Portuguese South America there are all grades between Portuguese, Indian, and Negro. The hybridization, which in Spanish America is between European and Mongolian is, in tropical Brazil, between Portuguese, Mongolian, and Negro.

The factors which control racial development of South America are fundamentally different in the temperate and tropical regions. In the southern regions the white man has a firm hold and is developing vigorous nationalities whose future is assured. Prospects in tropical South America, on the other hand, are obscure. The essential facts on which they depend are that the country has enormous natural resources; that the existing population is quite inadequate in number; and that the people are practically all one hybrid uniform race. "A single half-caste race," says Garcia Calderon (1913, p. 338), "with here the Negro and there the Indian predominant over the

conquering Spaniard, obtains from the Atlantic to the Pacific." He remarks that a similar unity of race and of language, except for the Portuguese in Brazil, occurs from Mexico throughout South America to Patagonia. In South America, says the same author (*ibid.*, p. 356), miscegenation is universal between Iberian, Indian, and African. The European element is diminishing in the resultant race, which shows the increasing influence of the qualities that prevented the Red Indians developing any enduring government of their own, and in Brazil also the defects which have caused the constant failure of the Negro, when he has taken part in a democratic system of government.

The proportion of South Americans who are counted as white is estimated at from one-third to one-tenth; but even the lower of these estimates includes many who are only partly white. The number free from any Indian intermixture is probably even less than one-tenth, and the proportion of Iberian blood is dwindling.

The total population of South America is too small to make adequate use of the magnificent natural opportunities of the continent. In Brazil the number of inhabitants is about 4.3 to the square mile; in the Argentine it is 4 to the square mile. The overcrowding of the other continents naturally makes their people grudge the occupation of so rich a continent by a people in numbers so few and politically so weak. The possibility of extensive Asiatic immigration into South America has been often contemplated. Hawaii, now that its population is fully orientalized, would serve as a stepping-stone. Many Chinese have already settled along the western coast of South America, and the Japanese authorities have referred to it as an attractive field for their emigrants. Between 35,000 and 40,000 Japanese have recently settled as agriculturists in Brazil. The entry of the Asiatic could not be forbidden on the grounds of race; for the American Indians and the eastern Asiatics are both Mongolians, and there seems no natural

objection to their intermixture. Any considerable Asiatic immigration into South America would, however, be resisted in the Pacific Coast states on the grounds of economic competition ; and North America would object to it as inconsistent with the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, for if any large number of Japanese were settled in one of the weaker South American states circumstances might arise which would lead to the intervention of Japan to protect the interests of her subjects. Nevertheless, in spite of the jealousy with which Asiatic immigration would be regarded, it appears to be welcomed in Brazil, which urgently needs more labour ; and it will remain a possibility so long as the slow growth of the South Americans leaves the continent with only a tithe of the population it could support. South America is probably the most attractive and fertile land in the world which is at present greatly under-populated.

The alternative to Asiatic immigration is white settlement. Tropical South America includes large areas in the Brazilian highlands and on the Andes, which have cool climates well adapted to people of the European race. Families of Spaniards have lived for centuries even in Ecuador, the most equatorial of the States. The white people from the Argentine and Chile may work their way northward into the cooler mountain lands of the tropics, while the population of the United States may overflow into the northern countries. White settlement of South America is urged as necessary in the interests of civilization. Prof. E. A. Ross, "South of Panama" (1914, p. 181), and L. Stoddard (1920, p. 118) both claim that only white immigration can save South America. Helmer Key (1924, p. 125) goes further, and predicts that unless the western shores of both North and South America be "exclusively reserved for white colonization" the Pacific will become a yellow *mare clausum* and the hegemony of the world will pass to the yellow races.

The prospect of the white settlement of tropical South America is, however, not hopeful. The country already

has a population of 14 million mixed people. Some of the northern states may undergo commercial exploitation by the white man ; but there seems no likelihood of any immigration of white colonists on a sufficient scale to dilute the Indian-Negro element and convert tropical South America into a white man's land. The indolent mestizo and thriftless mulatto may long continue to make the South American Republics proverbial for misgovernment, stagnation, and financial instability. "Everything," says Bryce (1912, p, 565), "points to a continuance of the process of race mixture." He says the process is slow and it may be centuries before there are no pure Indians remaining ; and as the mixed race will regard itself as white it will endeavour to adopt the ways of the white men. There seems in tropical South America no prospect of any alternative to the universal intermixture of Indian, Negro, and Iberian, with the declining influence of the strain inherited from the two Iberian peoples to whom is due the present development of the continent.

¹ Reference to the German colonics, who number about 350,000, is made on p. 207-8

² e g, C. R. Enock, 1914, p. 221, he regards that figure as true for places in Ecuador, but as possible elsewhere only for Chile

³ Enock, *ibid*, pp. 217

⁴ The Indians and Negroes also interbreed producing half-castes known in some parts of South America as zambos. The cholos are the offspring of mestizo and white.

CHAPTER V

Race Problems in Africa

“ Ah, Life ! thy storms these cannot shun ,
Give them a hope to rest upon,
A dream to dream eternally,
The strength of man who would be free
And win the battle race begun,
Out in the Night ! ”

“ The Star of Ethiopia.” LUCIAN B.
WATKINS, a Negro poet, who died
young from the loss of health during
service in the U S Army in France.

AFRICA is inhabited by members of each of the three great sections of mankind. The Caucasians are represented by the Dark Caucasians in northern Africa and by the White Caucasian settlers in South Africa, Algeria, and other European colonies. The Mongolians are represented by the Malagasy who live in eastern Madagascar. The characteristic element in the population of Africa is, however, the Negro,¹ who occupies most of the equatorial and all the southern part of the Continent. The relation of the Negro to the Dark Caucasians of northern Africa is determined by the broad zone of hybrid Negroid tribes who contain intermixtures of the two elements in all proportions. The Dark Caucasians are mainly believers in Islam, which is the most democratic of religions and rejects all distinctions based on race, or colour, or class. Its influence has been to educate and raise towards its own standard all the primitive people who become Muslim. The steady southward advance of Islam is probably the most fundamental change now in progress on the African continent.

All Africa except Abyssinia is more or less under the control of the white race. Liberia is now a financial Protectorate of the United States. Egypt, though an independent Sultanate, has still special relations with the British Empire, which controls its foreign policy, maintains garrisons in the country, keeps a vigilant watch over the Suez Canal, and shares in the government of the Sudan. The rest of Africa is under the direct control of the European powers who adopt different policies toward their subject people. The British colonial maxim is that the land belongs to the natives, of whom the Government is the guardian. Its primary duty is to protect the rights and interests of the natives and see that they are not unfairly treated during the industrial and agricultural development of the country. According to a second policy the colonies are regarded as of primary value as sources of raw material for European industries. A third policy is that of France, who uses her African possessions as a recruiting ground for a great coloured army which, in the event of a European war, might be let loose on the African territories of other European powers. This policy threatens the horrors of savage warfare in Africa on a scale which the unaided African could never achieve. It also, by the introduction of a large garrison of Negroes and Negroids into France, will increase the number of French-African half-castes, many of whom have been introduced by soldiers returned from African service.

Parts of Africa have been settled by white planters, and the development of those areas is possible on two chief lines. In some cases, as in Kenya Colony where the Highlands have been reserved for white ownership, the future may be that of a community of white planters employing coloured labour. In such a case the development may be, as in India, by an industrial aristocracy and a small number of officials ; and members of both, after some years' service, would return to Europe ; or it may be, as in Brazil, the occupation of the country by European colonists of all grades and ranks

in life, with the result in time, though it may be a very long time, of complete race intermixture. Either development is possible in tropical Africa. The Brazilian system has already been established in Angola and Mozambique. The Indian system is most likely in such protectorates as the Congo, Nigeria, and Uganda, where the whites may remain a relatively small number of merchants, administrators and missionaries. On the highlands of Kenya, on the other hand, there may be a larger proportion of permanent settlers; but they would be surrounded by far more numerous coloured communities, which would ultimately determine the political status of the white settlements.

The main racial problem in Africa is concerned with South Africa, which has three possible political futures—the supremacy of the white, of the Negro, or of a mixed race. There is no question of the climatic suitability of most of South Africa for European settlement. It has been the home for more than a century of a large white community, whose members are remarkably healthy, vigorous and efficient. Unless South Africa can be held as a white man's land there is no prospect for any part of Africa, south of the Sahara, other than as a Negro land administered to some extent by Europeans.

South Africa is of great international concern owing to its strategic importance. The issues there are confused and perplexing. Its climatic conditions are particularly favourable for the growth of a vigorous people. The country is outside the tropics and as the cold sea, which borders it to the west and south, cools the winds that blow across it, the climate is temperate for its latitude.

The existing population of the Dominion of South Africa in 1922 included 1,550,578 whites and 5,504,580 coloured. The white inhabitants are mostly either Dutch or British in origin. The century-long feud between these two closely akin nations is now being allayed by the rise of an ominous native problem. The feud was due primarily to divergent views as to native policy. The ideal of the

British missionaries in the early part of last century was the development of South Africa as a group of states ruled by native potentates under missionary guidance. After the Reform Bill of 1832 had given the British philanthropists supreme political power, a chain of native states was established across South Africa in order to hem in the Boers on the north. They were also cut off from the eastern coast by the establishment of the Colony of Natal, which was extended northward until it reached Portuguese East Africa. The Boers established two inland states, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which are now part of the Union of South Africa.

The political policy of the British missionaries was a complete failure. The native states collapsed, and the territories to the north of Cape Colony fell under the direct rule either of the British or the Boers. The inconsistent native policies now adopted in various parts of the Union of South Africa are the result of their different political development. In Cape Colony the natives have been given the franchise and are under no political disqualification based on colour. The only discrimination against the Negro is in the restriction on the sale of alcoholic liquor. In Natal the needs of the large plantations of sugar cane and tea has led to the introduction of Asiatic coolies, who were brought in under the indenture system, and have few political privileges. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State the Negroes have no vote ; but those states have been governed by men who, owing to their close association with the Negro, understand him fully and have secured his confidence.

The general interracial problem in South Africa is in many respects similar to that in the southern United States, with the difficulties intensified by the inferiority in numbers of the white race. The coloured population in the Union of South Africa protectorates outnumbers the white by four to one. Moreover, this excess may be increased by an inflow from the north ; for, unlike the southern states,

South Africa is bordered by country occupied by Negroes ; and their advance southward would follow the long-continued movements by which South Africa has received its human and other inhabitants.

The European position in South Africa is weakened by discord. The story of South African colonization is of a long political conflict between the British and the Dutch. In recent years the international hostility has moderated, but the white forces have been divided anew by the political conflict between the capitalist who requires cheap labour, and the nationalist who is anxious to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. The European party is further split by the cleavage between the residents and that school of missionaries who deplore the Europeanization of the Negro and regard the "poor whites" as the most barbarous section of the South African population. The hostility of one section of missionary opinion to the poorer white inhabitants is expressed in the recent contribution to South African missionary literature by Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "Race Problems in the New Africa," 1923.

The essential weakness of the European position is in numbers :—

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro.</i>	<i>Asiatic.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Cape Colony .	651,866	2,123,076	7,770	2,782,712
Natal .	137,695	1,149,153	140,858	1,427,706
Transvaal .	543,673	1,529,047	15,052	2,087,772
Orange Free State	189,208	439,378	216	628,802
S.-W. Africa .	19,432	208,307	?—	227,739
Basutoland .	1,603	497,178	?—	498,781
Bechuanaland .	1,743	151,188	52	152,983
Swaziland .	2,205	110,739	7	112,951
	1,547,425	6,208,066	163,955	7,919,446

The Negro population in the Union (including its protectorates and mandated territory) of 6,208,066 outnumbered the white (1,547,425) by more than four to one. The supremacy of the European race may be continued

either by a white oligarchy managing black labour, or by the white race being sufficient in numbers to retain control under a democratic form of government. The ideal of the advocates of the European oligarchy was that of India and it is upheld by the capitalists and planters, who, however, only advocate its adoption locally, for the mining fields and the plantations of Natal. Mining for gold and diamonds—the two chief minerals in South Africa—is, however, often a temporary industry. The supplies extracted are not replaced and must end some time; and the end of mining for these minerals on the scale which makes them the two predominant contributors to South African wealth is perhaps not far distant. Both industries rest on foundations which South Africa cannot insure; for the sale of diamonds depends on fashion and on general commercial prosperity in the countries which are the great markets for jewels. If gold be demonetized by the maintenance of paper currency, the increase in banking and in the habit of using cheques in retail trade less gold would be required, and its mining would become less profitable. The two chief products of the mineral industry in South Africa will probably never again occupy the relative importance in the trade of the Dominion as during the twenty years before the War. The system of the plantations is unsuitable for most of South Africa, and is not likely to spread to any large extent in the Dominion outside Natal.

The government of South Africa by a European oligarchy requires the continued retention of the Negroes in a position of marked inferiority. The efforts to maintain the system have led to measures which have occasioned the widespread denunciation of South Africa as retrograde in its management of interracial relations. Booker T. Washington, for example, remarked to Mr. H. G. Wells that if the policy of the British Empire were to be judged by South Africa its treatment of the Negro was worse than that of the southern states of America.

The maintenance of the oligarchic system is rendered still

more difficult by the large number of half-castes in South Africa. To the credit of the Boers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State it has been recorded that they early adopted the view that any intercourse with blacks was the lowest form of degradation; and that principle, says Maurice Evans, but few of them transgressed. Hence the half-caste population in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, before the advent of a large mixed population that went in with the gold mining, was small; and the mongrel race at the Cape which is known by its name of the "Cape Boys" was mainly bred in Cape Colony, and had only an insignificant proportion of European blood.

The missionary factor is also inimical to the development of South Africa by a white aristocracy. The spread of education amongst the natives and the award of political rights to them in Cape Colony has led to the formation of a native middle-class which renders impossible the permanent maintenance of the Negroes as a helot class. The subjection of the Negro has been rendered difficult by the growth of the Ethiopian Church, which has been in recent years a powerful factor in the spread of anti-European feeling. The movement has been retarded by the excesses of some of its members, but the movement as a whole is likely to become stronger. The missionaries have raised in South Africa a force which is proving beyond their control.

The Ethiopian Church has developed during the past forty years owing to the frequent breaking away from the European Churches of some of their African congregations. There are many Christian denominations working in South Africa; and so the African sees no logical objection to the establishment of new ones suitable to the local conditions. Some of the new sects have been founded from the desire of the African to assert his independence; others are due to revolt against tactless management by Europeans. More than thirty years ago a number of converts broke away from the Wesleyan Church, founded an independent sect, and called themselves Ethiopians. In 1894 they were joined by

an able Wesleyan recruit named Dwane, who in 1896 visited the United States in order to secure the affiliation of the sect to the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America. That body was founded in 1816 and is now the most powerful Negro organization in the world. In 1922 it had 6,636 churches, 19 bishops, and 548,355 members.² The Church welcomed the opportunity for extension in their home Continent, and one of the Methodist Bishops visited South Africa. He provisionally appointed Dwane the South African Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This appointment was not confirmed in the United States and Dwane thereupon seceded to the Anglicans though most of his party remained Methodist. Meanwhile three South African Presbyterian Churches had been formed by secession from the Mission of the Scottish Free Church; a dispute among some Congregationalists led to the foundation of a Congregationalist Negro Church in Natal; a party of seceders from the Berlin Mission founded a Negro Lutheran body. All these new sects became loosely associated as the Ethiopian Negro Church. Its growth, according to Willoughby, was due largely to the anti-European feeling for which he blames the secular section of the white population; but he admits that the immediate cause of the schism was often within the Churches, and was due to the tactlessness or narrowness of some of the missionaries. A powerful additional motive was probably the desire of the natives to admit within the Church practices which white missionaries could not allow. The immorality of many Negro ministers in the United States has often been remarked; and among such emotional people religious revivals in South Africa have led in bursts of excitement to practices which the white missionaries have sternly repressed, to the great irritation of their followers. Some of the extreme Ethiopian sects have come into conflict also with the civil authorities. One fanatic inspired a murderous attack on the white settlers in Nyassaland; he was killed and his band scattered. A more

serious disturbance culminated in the Bullhoek tragedy in May, 1921. A sect known as the Israelites was founded by a native preacher named Enoch Ngijima, in 1910. His supporters squatted on some Crown lands near his village and refused to move. The authorities were very reluctant to interfere, but ultimately were compelled to enforce the law. In the hope of avoiding bloodshed the authorities sent an overwhelming force of armed police to eject those who had taken possession of land. The natives were persuaded that their fetish rendered them safe against bullets; so they attacked the police and with such fury that they were only repulsed after over 100 of them had been slain.

The political status of the Negro in South Africa is unusually advanced as in Cape Colony he has been given the franchise. Hitherto the Negroes have been slow to avail themselves of this privilege; but the spread of education, the stimulus of the American Negroes, and the influence of the South African native Church may be expected to lead to their use of the vote in considerable numbers. The maintenance of South Africa as a European colony therefore depends on the number of whites being adequate to retain control under an elective government. If the European voters be few, political power will pass to the Negroes, and the white residents will have no legal means of protecting their position when interests clash. An adequate number of white voters can only be obtained if South Africa remains the home of a large efficient white population engaged as artisans, small holders, small farmers, agricultural labourers, etc.; and they must be paid wages sufficient to secure them appropriate standards of life. The maintenance of these conditions is not assured. The most ominous change in South Africa is the replacement of whites by blacks in many departments of work. The difference in South Africa between 1893 and 1905, which impressed me most deeply on visits in those years, was the extent to which coloured

men and Negroes had replaced white workmen in many occupations, for example in farriery and as blacksmiths. A similar movement is shown by the increase in the number of independent Negroes with small farms and holdings. This development is excellent, and no South African Government could discourage it without disloyalty to its people and the best interests of the country. But success along these lines involves the ultimate transfer of political power in South Africa to the native population.

The replacement of white by black labour in manual work is accompanied by the refusal of the whites to work alongside the blacks, or in some industries to undertake any work except that of superintending black workers. The system of "bossing boys" is wasteful of time and labour. It is often so worked as to check the growth of intelligence in the blacks, and to demoralize the white labourer by habits of indolence; and it may reduce the number of white residents in the country by depriving the less efficient of them of any means of livelihood. The competition of black and white artisans means that the wages will fall to the black standard.

Wealthy mines, large farms, and engineering work at the chief railway junctions can afford white foremen; but the small industries cannot afford such expensive supervision. The wages for white workers falls towards that which satisfies the blacks; and the whites are either deprived of employment or are forced to lower their standards to a scale which would be fatal to white prestige. As the black enters various branches of agricultural and industrial occupation, the white man goes out.

If the white labourers cannot earn good wages they are discouraged from marriage, and if they are living in a black community the birth of a numerous mixed race becomes almost inevitable. Sir Hely Hutchison, formerly Governor of the Cape, clearly expressed the fact that the poor white is the fundamental difficulty in South Africa. The poor white will not do the work of a skilled artisan. "The poor

white problem," he said, "is one of the most pressing of South African problems. It is in a sense the direct result of native and coloured environment."

The great mining corporations no doubt prefer cheap docile black labour controlled by a few highly paid white foremen ; but these requirements may not prove ultimately the best for the future of South Africa. A relative, and in time an absolute, decline in the output of the gold and diamond mines must be contemplated as possible. The employment of white labour in mining must in time diminish, and it is the recognition of this fact that has led to the irreconcilable cleavage between the Nationalist and Capitalist parties. The financiers are concerned with the development of the country in the present and near future. Their policy is based upon the commercial maxim, "If you have an asset use it while you can." The South African statesmen, on the other hand, naturally feel responsible for the ultimate lot of the white man, and for the future of South Africa after mining has ceased to provide the main contribution to South African wealth. The decline in the mines would lead to the redistribution of the population and a decline in the importance of the far interior ; this process is already taking place in consequence of the present trend of agricultural development. The farms near the coast and the orchards and plantations on the rich lowlands have the great advantage of easy access to ports, whence the summer produce of South Africa can be cheaply shipped and sold at winter prices in the European markets. This stimulus to the development of the coastlands has been accompanied, according to some authorities, by a decline in the interior. According to Prof. Schwarz (1923, p. 221), however, the change is due to increasing drought, to which he attributes the decline of the population in some inland districts. His account supports other evidence that the old life of the veldt is failing to retain its hold on the younger Afrikaner generation. This waning of the white population in the interior

and the steady replacement of the whites by blacks in skilled labour are together the spectre which threatens South Africa.

The Nationalist party is convinced that under the conditions obtaining in South Africa the white man cannot compete with either the natives or the Asiatic, if they are to work side by side on equal terms. Wages for skilled white artisans vary from 13s. to 20s. a day, and for ordinary labour from about 10s. upward. The wage of a native adult varies from 6s. to 30s. a month; that of domestic servants from 10s. to 30s. a month with his food; Indian women receive from 5s. to 7s. 6d. a month. The white man cannot work in South Africa on the wages paid to the black or the brown. As the Negro becomes better educated and enters trade after trade, his white competitor must withdraw or reduce his standard of life to a level which would lead to ultimate demoralization.

Some of the South African capitalist party hold that assimilation between the whites and the Negro is ultimately inevitable.

The only apparent method of avoiding this solution is racial separation by some form of segregation. The maintenance of a sharp line between black and white is impossible if the two are to be mixed together and compete on equal terms in the labour market.

The need for segregation in South Africa has been insisted upon by E. J. C. Stevens (1914, pp. 12-13) in accordance with the two propositions that the coloured and white races cannot exist side by side without injury to one or both, and that the security of the whites and the continued practice of justice to the coloured people require such separation that the two races are not brought into daily opposition.

It is also certain that if the white minority becomes still smaller it will be unable to retain its political authority in face of the increase of the Negro in numbers, wealth and education. General Hertzog, the leader of the

Nationalist party, according to a report in the "Glasgow Herald" of his speech on the 4th of June, 1924, at a mass meeting at Potchefstroom, shortly before he became Premier of South Africa, predicted "a bloody revolution unless through his policy of native segregation the white man's economic safety was assured." It is difficult, however, to see how bloodshed could secure the white man in South Africa the permanent retention of the share in the skilled occupations which is essential to his security.

The prejudice in South Africa against segregation has been partly due to its advocacy by the Nationalist party, and to some of the statements by General Hertzog having given rise to the suspicion that it was intended to harass capitalists by raising the cost of labour. Sir Matthew Nathan when Governor of Natal, in the preface to the book by Maurice Evans (1916) which advocated segregation, remarked that this policy was not that of South Africa. Nevertheless in recent years the main trend of opinion in South Africa has been towards some form of segregation, which has long been advocated by some far-sighted South African statesmen such as Theodore Schreiner.

Some system of segregation is morally justified by the existing reservation of large areas in South Africa for exclusive occupation by Negroes. The whites are excluded from residence in Basutoland except by permission of the Governor-General, which is only given under exceptional circumstances. The coloured population of Basutoland is 497,173, and the white residents number only 1,603. Similarly large parts of the Transkei Territories to the north-east of Cape Colony are reserved for native settlement. As special areas are reserved for the Negroes it would appear not unfair that white labour should be given a privileged position in other areas. The Blacks need not be excluded to the same extent as the white man is from Basutoland. All that would be necessary is that in certain areas some trades and employments should be

reserved for the whites. As the system of black labour and white superintendence is already well-established in Natal and the eastern parts of Cape Colony, these areas would appear appropriate as reserves for native artisans. In the highlands of the interior, such as the southern Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and western Cape Colony, certain skilled employments and trades might be fairly reserved for white workers.

Some capitalists oppose this policy as it would raise the cost of skilled labour ; and some of them probably would be glad to see the white workers reduced in number, as the black boy is more docile and easily disciplined. The bitterness of one section of the Nationalist party against the regime before July, 1924, is that they consider that the capitalist is careless of the ultimate future of South Africa and indifferent whether his policy undermines white supremacy. The hostility of the Hertzog party to the capitalists is often regarded as simply anti-British ; but it appears due rather to his passionate resentment against a policy which he regards as treachery to the white man.

Legislation to secure segregation has made most progress as regards the Indians. Anti-Asiatic legislation was begun in South Africa by the Government of the Transvaal by its Law No. 3 of 1885. Since that time there has been a steady strengthening of the regulations to restrict immigration of Indians, and to reduce their privileges in the country. This policy has received its fullest development in the Class Areas Bill, introduced into the South African Parliament by the Government of General Smuts early in 1924. This Bill was drafted to establish urban residential and trading reserves, to which Asiatics would be restricted. In order to avoid the charge of special legislation against Indian subjects they are not directly mentioned, and the Bill was defined as applying "to persons other than natives having racial characteristics in common." The Bill proposed the appointment of three Commissioners, who would

be empowered to recommend certain areas as class residential or class trading areas. If their recommendation be accepted and proclaimed by the Governor-General, no Asiatic would be able to acquire a lease or to renew a lease or to trade within that area. The Asiatics would, therefore, by exclusion from all the class areas, be collected in the rest. That it was intended to proclaim sufficient areas as reserved for natives and Europeans to segregate the Asiatics is apparent from a speech by General Smuts in Natal in July, 1923; he stated that "the position in the towns is developing in such a way that a substantial measure of segregation has become necessary." It is, however, possible that the real aim of this Bill was to prevent Asiatics trading in important centres and thus to render their continued residence in South Africa unprofitable. The Bill would be a step toward the recommendation of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission that Asiatic traders should be either prohibited or restricted to areas where they could only trade with their own race.

The development of segregation in order to secure the white trader and artisan a permanent position in South Africa in spite of Negro competition is a more difficult but a more important policy. The first legislative step towards native segregation was the Natives Land Act (No. 7) of 1913. This act was a temporary measure to prevent the transfer of land from or to natives until Parliament had decided on a permanent policy. The act appointed a Commission to consider whether certain areas should be set apart, in some of which only natives and in others only non-natives might acquire or rent land. It was proposed that in an area scheduled for native occupation no non-native could acquire land or an interest in land without the direct sanction of the Governor-General. A Commission under Sir William Beaumont was appointed to investigate this question. It reported in 1916, and legislation was drafted in 1917 as "the Native Affairs Administration Bill." This Bill was referred to a select committee,

which recommended the appointment of five local committees to enquire as to the suitability of the proposed native and non-native land areas. Separate local committees were appointed for Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, the Eastern Transvaal, and the Western Transvaal. The recommendations of these committees were based upon different principles, and the Government decided that until the schemes had been more fully considered and co-ordinated the establishment of the reserves proposed would be premature. According to the "South African Year Book" (No. 5, 1922, p. 440), "These considerations led the Government to the conclusion that the time was not yet ripe for passing definite clear-cut segregation legislation, but as a preliminary step in that direction the policy embodied in the Native Affairs Act of 1920 was decided upon." A Native Affairs Commission was appointed to look after the interests of the natives, to advise the Government in all matters connected with them, and to endeavour, by gaining their confidence and educating public opinion, to secure the harmony of the white and coloured people.

The appointment of this Commission was intended to delay, but not to prevent, the adoption of segregation. The Nationalist and Labour parties have continued to maintain that the white race in South Africa has no chance of permanent prosperity without some system of segregation. The native and coloured (that is half-caste) labourers have been steadily entering fields of work which were formerly held by white men. E. J. C. Stevens represents as the grim enigma of South Africa that the white must give way, because the black, through paucity of wants, is the fittest to survive. According to Stevens the unions between white men and native women are so numerous that the coloured population is growing faster than the white and replacing it in skilled trades. He enumerates a long list of occupations in which coloured and Negro workers are supplanting the whites. They included in 1911 :—

	Negro.	Coloured.
Blacksmiths, whitesmiths, and boiler-makers	359	982
Iron-founders, etc.	336	—
Brickmakers	2,688	1,003
Stonemasons, etc.	610	3,712
Carpenters and joiners, etc.	421	1,262
Shoe and boot makers and assistants	284	1,404
Tailors	29	1,723

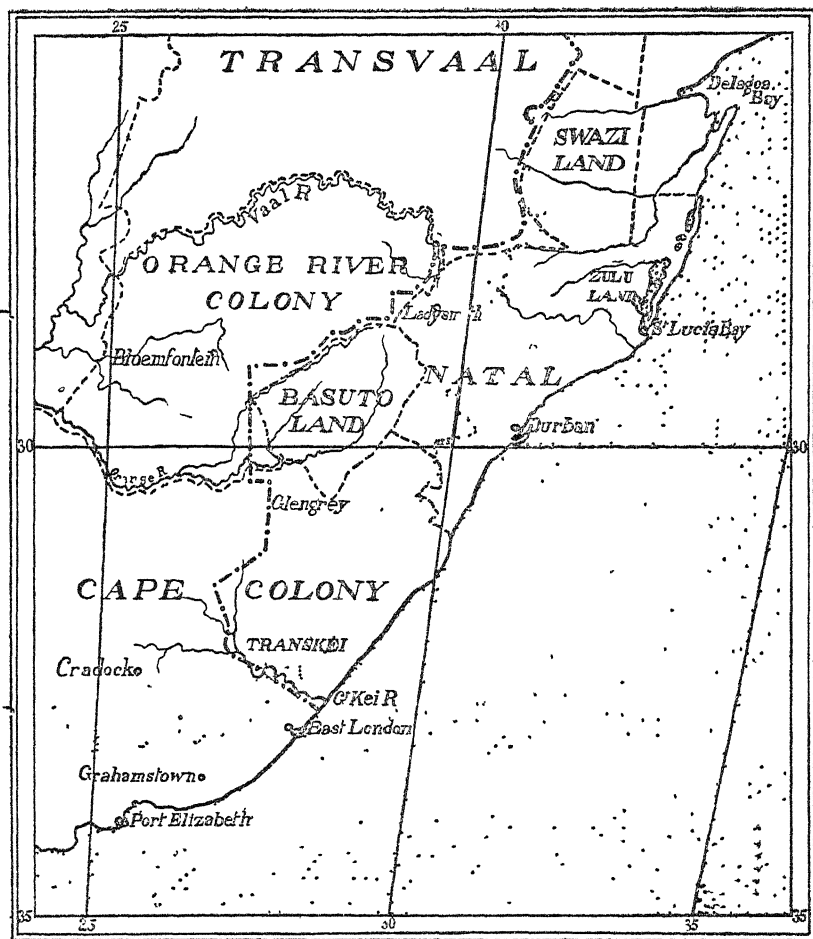
The coloured and Negro artisans had by 1911 taken the occupation of many of the whites. In the saddlery and harness-making trades the coloured workmen in 1911 exceeded the white in the proportion of 3 to 2. The proportion of white to coloured stone and marble masons was as 4 to 5 and in tailoring as 29 to 33. Many of the white workers are accordingly unemployed, or have to do some of the very lowest grades of work. "Thus," Stevens says (1914, p. 96), "there were over 14,000 domestic servants of European extraction in the Union; several thousands of labourers in shops and stores; 12,000 farm servants and labourers; over 4,000 labourers on roads, railways, and docks; scavengers and street cleaners, and many others performing duties at which the coloured artisan would turn up his nose." Stevens concludes (*ibid.*, p. 140) that "if the 'Native problem' is ever to be solved it will only be solved by allotting to each race a part of the country where it can follow its own ideals untouched by the influence of racial intermixture."

The kind of segregation which he recommends is that of dividing the country into two parts, assigning one to Europeans and forcing all the natives to reside in the other. He considers that Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, and Basutoland should be left as native reserves. In Cape Colony most of the Transkei Territories are already native reserves, and they with the Parishes of Herschel, Barkley East, and Glen Grey have a population of 1,009,855, of which, in 1911, only 26,889 were Europeans. Stevens

therefore proposes that the eastern part of Cape Colony, as far west as a line along the western boundary of Herschel, Barkley East, Elliot, Glen Grey, St. Marks, Tsomo, Ngamakwe, and Kentani should be adopted as the dividing-line between the black and white reserves. In the Orange Free State he insists that as it was not until its occupation and settlement by the Boers that the natives entered it, they have there no moral claim to occupation ; he would, however, establish as native reserves the area to the east of 27° E. from the Orange River to the Thaba 'Nchu railway and to the south of the line thence to Maseru ; and also that part of Harrismith south of a line parallel to 28° S., and passing 10 miles north of Witzieshoek. In the northern Transvaal he would assign the whole of the Zoutspanberg and about half Leidenberg and a portion of Waterberg as native reserves.

The general outline of Stevens' division of South Africa is illustrated in the sketch map on p. 139.

A less drastic and more practicable system of segregation would be to restrict certain occupations in the highlands and western districts of South Africa to white labourers with similar and perhaps more extensive restrictions in favour of native labour in the eastern districts, including Zululand, Natal, Basutoland, eastern Cape Colony, and the northern part of the Transvaal. Such a system could be gradually enforced, and in the mining areas only such industries reserved for the white men as would secure some permanent occupation for them, while not unduly burdening the mining industry. The compulsory transfer of all the natives to the east of a fixed line, and of the Europeans to the west of it would be difficult and perhaps impracticable ; but the establishment of areas, in some of which the whites would be privileged as regards land tenure and labour, while in others the natives would have corresponding privileges, would secure for the white races a firm position, and prevent the indefinite increase in numbers of the "poor whites." The extension of that



General outline of Steven's division of South Africa.

--- marks the western boundary of the suggested native reserves.

class would ruin the prestige and be fatal to the predominance of the white race in South Africa.

The victory of the combined Nationalist and Labour parties in the General Election in South Africa in June, 1924, shows the growing strength of the feeling in favour of segregation.

A just and practicable policy of segregation is no doubt difficult, and some authorities regard it as impossible. Nevertheless, despite the hostility of the capitalist and of the anti-white section of the missionaries, the maintenance by some measure of segregation of an artificial barrier between the white and coloured races seems the only way to prevent the submergence of the white population and the loss of South Africa as the home of an outlier of the European race.

Since this chapter was completed a preliminary report on the last South African census has been issued and refers to the possible loss of South Africa by the white race owing to its slow rate of increase. The population recorded as white has shown a slightly greater increase than that of the coloured population, which lost 500,000 in the influenza epidemic of 1918. It should also be remembered that there may be a large emigration of Europeans from South Africa if mining becomes less profitable. The Report of the Census Director of South Africa states, according to a cable in "The Times," 29th September, 1924 (cf. also article in "Glasgow Herald," 29th Sept.), that unless increased by accessions from abroad the European race in South Africa "must for ever abandon the prospect of maintaining a white civilization, except as a proportionately diminishing minority in face of an increasing and ultimately overwhelming majority. It may then be forced to abandon its domination or even abandon the country."

ASIATIC IMMIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Asiatics in South Africa represent a comparatively secondary problem. Their immigration began in 1860, when some were imported from India owing to the unreliability of the South African Negro, who has been described by Maurice Evans as the worst cultivator in the world. By 1870 the number of Indian coolies had increased to 6,500, and the importation increased rapidly until the number in Natal in 1918 was 122,000. The importation at present has ceased owing to the serious dissatisfaction of India with the treatment of its people in South Africa. Their recruitment has been stopped and the last 500 coolies to enter South Africa left India in June, 1911. Serious trouble occurred in 1914, and though the Indian Relief Bill was passed to lessen the grievances grave discontent still exists among the Asiatics, with growing bitterness in India against the treatment given to Indians in a British colony.

The introduction of Indian traders into South Africa goes back to the sixteenth century, when it was begun by the Portuguese. Their original policy was to develop colonies by a governing class of Portuguese employing black labour; but the system did not succeed, for an intermediate class was necessary for work which the Portuguese would not and the Negroes could not undertake. So Indian traders of the class known as Banyans were introduced into Portuguese East Africa from the Portuguese colonies of Goa in India. The Banyans proved successful; they developed trade by acting as the middle-men between the native producer and the Portuguese merchant. They gradually spread northward through the coast towns, until a large part of the East African trade fell into their hands. They proved the most serious competitors with the Arab traders, who hampered them by many acts of injustice and repression. Most of these Indian traders were British subjects and, as shown by official statements at the time,

it was in order to protect them from unfair treatment by the Arab rulers that the British Government in 1884 established a Protectorate over Zanzibar and the East African coastlands.

The Indian, if freely allowed into tropical East Africa, would probably in time drive the Arab out of the internal trade, and prevent the development of a class of Negro traders owing to his greater efficiency and thriftiness ; and he would cut out the European owing to the lower standard of life which he is ready to accept. In fact, if the Indian be allowed free immigration into East Africa, he would probably, in course of time, spread inland across equatorial and south tropical Africa as the Dark Caucasian has spread southward from the Mediterranean. Equatorial Africa would be occupied by a hybrid Negro-Asiatic race merging northward into tribes of hybrids between the Negro and the Dark Caucasian.

THE EUROPEAN IN EQUATORIAL AND NORTHERN AFRICA

In north-western Africa, on the other hand, the overflow from France of officials, traders, and residents has given Algeria and Tunis one million white inhabitants. The bulk of the native population is Berber, who is a Dark Caucasian and akin to the Mediterranean element in the French race. The Berber element is therefore sufficiently near to the dark European to produce a not unsatisfactory mixture. A hybrid French-Berber race would probably tend to become predominantly European.

On the highlands of Kenya Colony in eastern Equatorial Africa and in Nyasaland there are small communities of white planters employing native labour. They, like some of the settlements in the British West Indies, may remain white colonies sharply separated from the Negro.

In southern Rhodesia the development of the mining and agricultural industry has led to the settlement of a large number of white residents employing black labour ; and so long as the mines are prosperous there will be good employ-

ment for a considerable number of skilled white artisans. The distance from the coast and the limitations imposed on profitable export by the long railway journey, must, however, hamper the agricultural development of the country. It will no doubt develop with a predominantly coloured population.

The improbability of the African tropical highlands becoming permanently the home of a white race is not due to climate. Dr. A. M. Fleming, the principal medical officer for southern Rhodesia, in a note published by Dr. A. Balfour (1923, p. 1333), says that the country was formerly regarded as not one for white men ; but fever having been conquered that view has been discredited, and he remarks "it would be hard to find a collection of people whose general physical fitness was so apparent, or who exhibited less evidence of degeneration." The two Rhodesian towns, Bulawayo and Salisbury, to which he especially refers, are tropical, as their latitudes are 20° S. and 18° S.

With the exception of the few isolated white colonies the bulk of tropical Africa will probably be divided between the black and brown races. The African Negro, with his non-constructive mind, would yield contented obedience to white rule if justly dealt with, and if allowed the conditions of life which accord reasonably with his tastes and habits. South Africa will probably long remain the largest and most important of the European African settlements ; and for the rest of the continent there appears no practicable alternative, if the Asiatic be excluded, to its development by Negro and Negroid races under the influence of the Dark Caucasian in the north, and of the European in the rest of the continent.

In Egypt, the white race recently suffered a great reduction in authority. The country has been under British control for forty years ; but it has now recovered its independence under its own Sultan. A British force still remains in Cairo ; no doubt European superintendence will continue over the Suez Canal ; and Britain has taken full

control over the Soudan. Egypt has, however, been given home rule; the essential part of Egypt, the Nile delta and valley of Lower Nile, are now under an autonomous Egyptian government. This change became necessary in consequence of the establishment of a free Arabian kingdom. The population of Egypt accepted British suzerainty until their feelings were hurt by the suggestion that they were unworthy of the independence that was being bestowed on their despised neighbours in Arabia. The establishment of Arabian independence of Turkey rendered inevitable the independence of Egypt.

¹ The term Negro is used to include the Bantu.

² The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church had, in addition, 2,716 churches, 7 bishops and 257,169 members.—“Negro Year Book, 1922,” pp. 202, 204.

CHAPTER VI

The Menace of Asia

“ You Lazarushian-leather Gunga Din !
Though I’ve belted you and flayed you,
By the livin’ Gawd that made you,
You’re a better man than I am, Gunga Din !

RUDYARD KIPLING.

ASIA to-day, as throughout historic times, is the greatest menace to Europe. It is the only continent which is a direct and early danger to the European race. People of the White Caucasian race once occupied large parts of western Asia and were expelled or swamped by Asiatics. Europe itself has been repeatedly overrun by Mongolians, who have left various colonies, such as the Hungarian in central Europe and the Lapp and Finn in the north-west. The Hungarians, owing to residence for over 1000 years in central Europe, have become fully, and the Ottomans partially Europeanized, while the Lapps have remained typically Mongolian. The Alpine sub-race, now one of the three main divisions of the European race, is itself of Asiatic origin and contains traces of Mongolian ancestry. These invasions of Europe were only stemmed by the martial valour of the north-western nations, but for whom all Europe would have been conquered and have become ethnographically a western outlier of Asia.

Asia is the most prolific of the continents in men and ideals. It is the greatest nursery of the human race ; its area is about a third of the land of the world, but it holds about half the population, and its people are the most dangerous competitors of the Europeans, owing to their

high manual skill and artistic perception, their unequalled patience and self-restraint, and their full contentment with a simple life. The world owes to Asia all the chief religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam. In face of the occupation of Asia by such overwhelming numbers of competent competitors the European race cannot hope for any permanent occupation of extensive areas in Asia. It may hold military and naval stations, but cannot expect to hold in permanent subjection any of the densely peopled sections of the continent. A European nation may, as in India, hold countries occupied by a discordant medley of races and creeds, until its administrative success has laid internal strife and provided the medium for the development of a full national sentiment. The only justification for European dominion in Asia is the establishment of better conditions of life for the people ; and those conditions necessarily become so complex that in a country of the size of India the administrative system can only be maintained by local labour. Any great Asiatic country has it in its power to wreck any Government by refusal to co-operate and by the adoption of a widespread passive resistance. No European nation could rule India if the people were united against it ; and the only ground for holding the country for a time in disregard of an overwhelming balance of hostile opinion and feeling is the belief that so heterogeneous a population cannot remain united for long, and that a well-managed Government should outlive any local combination against it. Internal dissension may enable European dominion to last for a long time, but European rule can only be temporary and must cease whenever a very large majority in India is determined to bring it to an end.

The part of Asia in which the white race appears to have the best chance of permanent occupation is southern Siberia. Northern Siberia is an area of plains frozen in winter and thawed into unmanageable swamp in the summer. It is occupied by Mongolian nomads, and while

the country remains in its present condition their occupation is not likely to be seriously disturbed. Southern Siberia, on the other hand, has a belt of very fertile, healthy, and attractive country. It was, however, so inaccessible that it was of no service to the world at large until it was opened up the Siberian Railway. Much of Central Siberia is too remote from the world's markets for railway transport, and much of the country will remain comparatively useless unless its produce can be exported by the great rivers which discharge to the Arctic Ocean. The navigation of those rivers and the establishment of summer communication from their mouths to western Europe might have been already well organized, but for the War. The passage of the Arctic Ocean is precarious, but the use of ice-breakers at special points and guidance by wireless telegraphy should render possible regular communication during the summer from Europe to the Yenesei and the Obi.

The future of the Siberian Railway belt is uncertain. The authorities along the Siberian Railway when I crossed over it at the end of 1914 seemed quite conscious that its success depended on a race with time. They wanted to bring in European settlers quickly, as otherwise the Mongolians from the south would occupy the best land and make southern Siberia a predominantly yellow land. Russia accordingly sent into Siberia vast numbers of Austrian and Galician war prisoners; they travelled eastward with the same accommodation as was provided for the soldiers of the East Siberian Army on their way to the western front. The authorities treated the prisoners well in the hope that many of them would remain as settlers after the War. These schemes and the chances of the rapid progress of Siberia crashed during the War.

The railway belt is protected from the great centres of Asiatic population by a broad tract of desert, which will give the Europeans a fair start in colonization; but there are roads across the deserts, and along them southern Asiatics may travel in sufficient numbers to secure a pre-

dominant position in southern Siberia. However, it is still possible that the Trans-Siberian Railway belt may develop as a European wedge driven across Central Asia ; but it is also possible that the Mongolian may spread northward and westward along this belt. The westward advance of the Mongolian may be quickened ; the position of the Bengali, who is ethnographically classified as a Mongolo-Dravidian, shows that the Mongolian has already a firm foot in north-eastern India, and he may extend his influence westward into the rest of India.

It is often suggested that British dominion rule cannot be long maintained in India, as that country requires government by an absolute oligarchy, and that the management of a remote dependency by oligarchic methods is impossible under a democracy, for some impulsive politician is sure to make fatal mistakes in ignorance of the local conditions. British rule in India was established owing to lack of cohesion among the Indian people due to differences in caste, race, and religion. No external power could have secured such easy control over so vast a population without the support of a strong local minority. The present weakness of the British position in India is due to the alienation of the Muslim, on whose support British rule has generally depended. The Mutiny of 1857-8 was crushed by the help of Sikhs from the north-west and of the southern troops ; but if India had been united against British rule the rebellion could not have been suppressed. Under existing conditions an armed rising would, however, be less dangerous than a general strike of the Indian workers in the Post Office, on the railways, and in the revenue department, which would render the British Government untenable. The alienation of the Indian Muslim was due to their loss of faith in the promises of the British Government, due to sudden changes in policy in the Near East. Their support may, however, again be won. Autocratic governments, it should be remembered, are also liable to adopt injudicious policies in the rule of distant

dependencies, and their rulers are less likely to hear of their errors of judgment in time to correct them, as they are apt to be less criticised and expert opinion is less freely expressed. In the last few years autocrats, from ambition, obstinacy, and ignorance, have made mistakes even more fatal than those of democratic leaders.

CHAPTER VII

Australia and its Northern Territory

“ Be true to the great good land
And rear 'neath the Southern Sun
A race that shall hold its own,
And last till the world be done.”

GILBERT WHITE, Bishop of Willochra, South Australia.

AUSTRALIA is a continent with a unique opportunity. When discovered it was occupied by only small tribes of nomadic hunters whose numbers were few. They have abundant long wavy hair, and belong, according to the classification adopted (pp. 19-21), to the Dark Caucasians. Australia contained few native food plants and no domesticable animals. The aborigines therefore made no progress with agriculture or as pastoralists; they had not discovered how to use metals, and their tools were made only of stone, wood, and bone. Their culture was of a type which has never withstood the advance of a settled civilization, and the Australian aboriginal population withered away on the European colonization of their country. The Australians were one of the most amiable and kindly of savage races, and the European settlers became interested in them and befriended them; they were soon decimated by tuberculosis and other diseases which were spread by the old clothes given them by the colonists. The reduction in numbers of the aborigines has been often attributed to systematic murder; but that view is one of the libels which have been widely circulated regarding Australia. The aborigines have disappeared most completely from Victoria, of which the early history is especially well known. When the first permanent settle-

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ment in that colony was established in 1837 the total number of the aborigines is estimated to have been about 6,000. Some of the colonists were rough and prepared to treat the aborigines without consideration ; but this spirit was promptly suppressed. In 1838 a drover was accused of having murdered a native woman on the western plains. The evidence against him broke down at the trial in Melbourne and he was acquitted. The judge assured him on his dismissal that if he had been found guilty no influence on earth would have saved him from the gallows. After that pronouncement the colonists knew that the principle of a life for a life applied equally to black and white, and the aborigines were safe from indiscriminate murder.

One of the pioneers in the western district of Victoria told me of the general attitude adopted to the aborigines, who were sometimes exasperating. Parties of them would descend from the hills on to the sheep stations, and with a mere blood lust kill far more sheep than they needed for food. In that case if the culprits were caught their leaders would be flogged, and they were made to understand that such slaughter of the flocks would not be tolerated. My informant remarked that as the settlers realized that they had cleared off the kangaroos, which used to be a reserve of food for the aborigines, " we never grudged them a sheep or two if they only killed what they wanted for food." In northern parts of Australia, where the aborigines were more numerous and had been made more warlike by a long struggle with Malays, there was more serious trouble and long conflicts in which the blacks were shot down. Such cases were exceptional, as the aborigines made such excellent stockmen and boundary riders that their usefulness would alone have secured their safety. They have proved of little use in agriculture or factories, but in the great cattle and sheep stations they provided efficient and cheap labour.

The reduction in the aborigines to numbers which made them of no political significance left the whole of Australia open to the people of other continents. Australia, however,

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was not an easy land to colonize. Its position hampered it commercially by its great distance from the main centres of the white race. The growth of population has been necessarily slow, for immigrants are discouraged by the length and cost of the journey, and the practical impossibility of members of the artisan class making a return visit to Europe. Australia, moreover, has not the advantage of Canada of the overflow from a large adjacent population of white people. Nevertheless, in spite of the general regret that the growth of the Australian population has not been much faster, it has done well. Melbourne, which was only founded in 1835, has in ninety years acquired a population of 800,000, which is far greater than that of any other city in the British Empire of equal age.

The development of Australia has been hampered by the barrenness of much of the interior ; but the proportion of desert land has been greatly overestimated. The continent has been described as a frame without a picture ; but if so it is a very broad frame with many inward projections. The rainfall in many parts, and especially in the north-west of the continent, is larger than has been represented in many authoritative maps. The extent to which the interior has been taken up under lease is not generally realized. The sheep and cattle runs occupy a considerable proportion of the interior. The land held by ownership, lease, or licence amounts to 60 per cent of the total area. In the separate States the proportions at the end of 1920 were : New South Wales, 90 per cent ; Victoria, 78 per cent ; Queensland, 82 per cent ; South Australia, 55 per cent ; Western Australia, 45 per cent ; Tasmania, 50 per cent, and the Northern Territory, 43 per cent. Another 40 per cent of the Northern Territory is regarded by many people, according to Prof. Griffith Taylor (1924, p. 486), as " a great pastoral country."

It is nevertheless true that in spite of this encouraging spread of pastoral settlement the interior of Australia can never expect a dense population. So far as can be foreseen at

present, except for the mining fields, central Australia is likely to be utilized only as pastoral country, in which the stations must be of enormous size in proportion to their population and stock.

Northern Australia as a whole has lagged behind the rest of the continent to an extent which is not due to lack of rain, or of the fertility of the soil. Large parts of north-western Australia receive a monsoonal rainfall and have good supplies of underground water at shallow depths, so that stock can be watered by wind-driven pumps. The occupation of this country is, however, spreading but slowly, owing to its remoteness from markets.

THE WHITE AUSTRALIAN POLICY

The main settlement of Australia was begun when the belief that the tropics were no use as the home of the white man had never been seriously questioned. Hence tropical Australia was left open to the coloured races. Queensland called in the help of coolie labourers from the South Sea Islands, and the Northern Territory imported Chinese for railway construction and to work the mines. The introduction of Asiatics appeared not only the easiest, but the only possible policy; and it was pursued for fifty years. It was hoped that by Asiatic labour the Northern Territory might be built up into a country with the prosperity of Java. Its sources of wealth include pearl fisheries along its shore, gold and tin in its mines, fertile soils with a dense vegetation along its river plains, and a rainfall that averages about 65 inches a year in some localities, and is over 20 inches for 220,000 square miles. This combination roused the hope that the Northern Territory would prove a tropical Eldorado. It was fondly called the "Land of the Dawning," and was expected to repeat in the tropics the success of the south-eastern provinces. These hopes, however, were disappointed. There was no reliable native labour, and the Asiatics shunned the empty north. They were quite ready to enter the settled colonies of south-

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eastern Australia, where the white man had subdued the land. There the Chinese did most useful work as laundrymen, cooks, and market-gardeners, and they worked over old mine heaps and added to the mineral yield gold which it did not pay the white man to collect. Chinese entered the Victorian goldfields, and increased there in spite of the protests of the Governor, Sir Charles Hotham, from 2,000 in 1852 to 42,000 in 1859. Their immigration into New South Wales first became serious in 1879, when a stream began which grew until in 1887 the Chinese numbered 60,000, or 15 per cent of the population. They were, moreover, arriving in fast-increasing numbers, and Australia was threatened with the complete orientalization of its labour.

The Chinese question then led to the most serious strain ever placed on the relations of the Australian colonies to the Empire.

The only limitations on Chinese immigration into New South Wales were a poll-tax of £10 per head on the immigrant, and the regulation that a ship could only take in one Chinaman to every hundred tons of her burden. Although British subjects in China were restricted in rights of residence, travel, and trade, and excluded from any share in mining, the Chinese Government objected to the moderate restriction imposed on the entrance of its subjects into Australia. The Government of New South Wales, in reply to enquiries based upon the Chinese objections, sent a cablegram to the British Government in March, 1888, urging that negotiations should be opened with China to stop immigration. No answer was received in spite of a further cable on April 26th. Accordingly as four ships containing Chinese immigrants entered Sydney Harbour, Sir Henry Parkes, who was then Prime Minister of New South Wales, promised a deputation that these Chinese should not land. A Bill was introduced on 16th May, and carried through all its stages in one day. Sir Henry Parkes (1892, Vol. II, pp. 221-2) stated in his speech,

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moving the second reading of the Bill, "In this crisis of the Chinese question, and it is a crisis, we have acted calmly, with a desire to see clearly the way before us ; but at the same time we have acted with decision, and we do not mean to turn back. Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores for ever, except under the restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount, and which are intended to amount, to practical prohibition." He declared also, "so far as I am concerned, I cast to the wind your permits of exemption. I care nothing about your cobweb of technical law ; I am obeying a law far superior to any law which issued these permits, namely, the law of the preservation of society in New South Wales. So far as I have means, against every power that can be brought against me, I will carry out my pledge given on that night in writing to the free people of this country, and not allow these men to land." The Bill was passed and, after some delay, was sanctioned by the Home Government. As Victoria had already taken a similar course, the Chinese inflow into Australia was stopped.

Northern Australia was still left open to the Asiatic, and Sir Samuel Griffiths' act of 1885 to exclude indentured labourers from Queensland was soon repealed, for they were then necessary on the sugar plantations.

The suitability of parts of the coastland of northern New South Wales and Queensland for sugar cultivation had been early recognized, and as early as 1828 experimental plots of sugar cane proved successful. By 1862 sufficient progress had been achieved to require an act to regulate the leasing of land for sugar plantations. The price of sugar at that time was £40 a ton, but the industry was blocked by the inadequate supply of labour. In 1863 the first Kanakas, or natives of the South Sea Islands, were introduced as indentured labourers to work the plantations.

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They proved satisfactory and their importation increased. By 1871 one-third of the population of the Queensland town of Mackay and its neighbourhood were Kanakas. The increasing nervousness as to coloured labour led to the passage in 1885 of an act by Sir Samuel Griffith, subsequently Chief Justice of Australia, prohibiting the introduction into Queensland of any Kanakas after 1890. The sugar industry at the time was not prosperous and this policy had to be abandoned. "Black-birding" in the South Sea Islands was continued, and by 1905 there were 8,450 Kanakas in Queensland.

The system was finally brought to an end in 1901 in the first year of the Australian Federal Parliament. The Pacific Islanders Act was then passed, and it prohibited the further enlistment of indentured Kanakas for the sugar industries, and the entry of Asiatics into Australia was placed under restrictions by which it could be entirely stopped. A White Australia became the Australian political ideal.

The legislation in 1901 against the Kanakas was forced upon the Australian Parliament by the insistence of an overwhelming majority of the representatives from Queensland. In a conversation with Mr. Watson, then leader of the Federal Labour Party, I ventured to question him as to the wisdom of at once tying Australia to a policy which might be very detrimental to the slowly developing North. He replied that he had taken action reluctantly, but the southern states could not refuse the one emphatic demand made by Queensland. It was not at the time generally understood why so large a majority of the Queenslanders demanded the deportation of the Kanakas; but apparently the widespread objection to them was to their irregular employment in competition with white labour in general work. Their presence introduced great uncertainty into the labour market, and the Queensland artisans never knew when they would lose work or have their wages lowered by the use of the coolies during the slack season on the

plantations. The Kanakas were then employed as grooms, servants, cooks, painters, etc. Laws passed in 1880, 1884, and 1892 limited their employment to tropical agriculture; but it was impossible to prevent the planters lending or hiring their coolies to their neighbours. One Queensland planter told me that it was the employment of the Kanakas in work outside the plantations that led to their deportation; he remarked, "if they had been confined to tropical agriculture they would have been here still" (Gregory, 1910, p. 377).

The Pacific Islanders Act stopped the further import of Kanakas and ordered those in the country back to their island homes; the only exceptions allowed were of those who had married or had made homes in Australia. By these exemptions 1,509 Kanakas were allowed to remain. The last of the others were shipped away during the season of 1905-6, and the sugar industry was left dependent on white labour.

WHITE AUSTRALIA IN RELATION TO THE POLICY OF THE EMPIRE

The policy adopted in 1901 can now be judged by the light of twenty-four years' experience. There are three main issues: Is the White Australia policy for the whole continent desirable? Is it possible physiologically? If so, is it possible economically? As to its desirability there are two important considerations—firstly, the difficulties introduced into the policy of the Empire by the exclusion of Asiatics from a British territory, and secondly, the possible delay in the development of Australia.

The main connection of the White Australia ideal with Imperial policy is from its influence on Indian sentiment. Many Indians feel that their exclusion from Australia is tantamount to a denial of their membership of the British Empire. They claim that so long as India is part of it Indians should have the right to settle in any part of it, just as a Cornishman has the right to take up his residence

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anywhere in the British Isles. They represent the exclusion of Indians from Australia as due to a racial prejudice, which is inconsistent with right fellowship between loyal members of one Empire.

These arguments are based upon a narrow conception of Empire, and ignore the fact that Imperial union is subject to many local restrictions. The refusal of the right of an Indian to settle in business in Australia is no more inconsistent with his fellowship of the Empire than the refusal of a British city to allow a man to set up in business within it, if he is not one of its freemen, is a rejection of his rights as a Briton. James Watt was not allowed to open a business as a mathematical instrument maker in Glasgow, because he was neither a burgess nor the son of a burgess of that city. He was, however, appointed instrument maker to the University, and established a workshop in its precincts, as they were not under the city jurisdiction. The restriction in Watt's right to trade in Glasgow did not deny his status as a Scotsman. Australia has the right to impose such restrictions on immigrants or on its residents as may appear necessary for the general welfare. The only possible basis for a just complaint by India would be if Australia had large areas of land suitable for occupation by Indians and refused them admittance, while they were suffering from overcrowding in their own land. If the assertions as to what is described as this "dog in the manger" policy were true India would have a just grievance. There is, however, comparatively little land in Australia which would be of any immediate use to the Indian. He could only settle on land which had been made serviceable by British-made railways, steamer communication, and administration. Indians could, no doubt, settle in the districts which Australia has irrigated at great financial cost and risk for the benefit of her own people. The waste spaces of Northern Australia are of no use to the Indian cultivator, as they are not in a fit state for his labour. There are extensive tracts in East Africa, which is nearer

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India and could be more easily developed ; and some of this territory has been offered for Indian settlement. There are also large areas in the Eastern Archipelago with a richer soil, and a better and more conveniently distributed rainfall, which could be more easily made available for Indian immigrants than Northern Australia. There is, indeed, much land in India itself which is still unoccupied. Large parts of Northern Burma have a luxuriant soil and a good water supply, and could be given easy access to large markets ; but although these unoccupied areas are part of India, the entry of the Indians is met by the provincial cry of " Burma for the Burmese." While India has itself large areas of fertile unused land it has no just claim to demand admission to Australia, especially as it is only in the non-tropical south-eastern areas that Indians could at present settle.

The objection that the White Australia policy must delay the development of Australia has a more serious basis of fact. Northern Australia requires more labour, and the easiest way to obtain it would be by importation of Asiatics, Cotton, sisal, and tobacco will grow in the Northern Territory, but they can only be cultivated at a profit with cheap labour. If the Australians are prepared to make the necessary sacrifice and face the risks of delay no one appears to have any ground for valid objection.

Apart from these two considerations there would appear no question as to the desirability of the White Australia policy, if it be practicable. Australia is the last continent available for the white race. If the coloured races are to hold all Asia and Africa and to be predominant in South America, it would appear only fair that the three smallest of the continents—Europe, North America, and Australia—should be assigned to the white race. The lessons from both North and South America are full of warning as to the dangers of mixed races. South America has not made the progress which its natural resources and position render possible. The Negro population in the south-eastern

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states presents to North America its most inscrutable political problem. Australia will avoid great dangers if it can maintain the whole continent for the white race.

It may be said that the introduction of indentured coolies would be safe, as they could be deported at the end of their term of service ; but indentured labour was not successful in Queensland, and it is doubtful if under present circumstances it would pay in the Northern Territory. There can be no question that the presence of a large Asiatic population, whether Indians or Japanese subjects, would involve political risks which might develop into serious dangers.

Moreover, as Dr. Cheyne concludes (1923, pp. 80-81), "Some observers seem to imagine that coloured races can be permitted to enter the north and remain confined there. This is contrary to common sense, and the ultimate and logical termination to the admittance of coloured races would be the eventual foundation of a mixed Australian people. Any sacrifice is worth making which keeps Australia white."

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The Northern Territory is the most perplexing problem in Australia for, in spite of the care and money devoted to its development, the population, commerce, and production have all seriously declined during recent years. The backward movement in the Northern Territory is now the main argument in the appeal to Australia to do something in a hurry to populate its tropical territories. It is declared that unless Australians can occupy the empty north, the country should be thrown open to Asiatic occupation. Under present conditions, however, it appears that even if Asiatics were allowed free access to the Northern Territory but few of them would go there, unless, perhaps, to use it as a stepping-stone to the southern states of Australia.

The Northern Territory includes the central peninsula on the northern coast of Australia. Its area is 523,620 square miles. It was part of New South Wales from



VII W IN THE TOWN OF MACKAY, A PORT IN TROPICAL QUEENSLAND

Illustrating how ill-adapted are some of the houses for tropical conditions

A QUEENSLAND PLANTATION OF SUGARCANE

Showing a planter in European clothes and dark felt hat

WHITE WORKERS ENGAGED IN A SUGARCANE PLANTATION

After photographs by the Author

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1827-63, when it was transferred to South Australia which, in 1911, was glad to be relieved of this costly burden, and it became a Federal Territory under the direct administration of the Commonwealth Government.

The development of the Northern Territory may be divided into three stages. The first was the period of hope. The Territory was called "The Land of the Dawning," when it was thought that Australia had merely to open a few ports, build a railway or two, establish a police force to keep order and protect settlers from the aborigines, for a flood of Asiatics to pour into the country and convert it into another Java. Glowing accounts were published of the beauty of Port Darwin and of the fertility of the country. Mr. Alfred Searcy, Clerk of the Southern Australia House of Assembly, during his service as Sub-Collector of Customs at Port Darwin from 1882-96, had to make extensive journeys throughout the Northern Territory. After fourteen years' experience he described the country as including "an almost unlimited area of country suitable, and not to be beaten in the world, for cattle and horse breeding. Besides the great extent of country on the coast-line and rivers, upon which every description of tropical product can be grown, there are immense areas inland suitable for agricultural purposes. It is well known that the Territory is rich in all sorts of minerals. The area prospected so far is very small indeed, so there are immense possibilities in the future in this direction. The wet season begins about the end of October, and lasts approximately five months. The rainfall during January and February is very heavy. The average rainfall near the coast is sixty-five inches. The maximum temperature during the wet season is 95° and the minimum at night 65°." He further declares (1907, p. 201) of the country along the Victoria River that "the possibilities are immense. As a cattle-raising country it is unsurpassed in the world." "Our possession," he continues (*ibid.*, p. 357), "contains land equal in size to the islands of Java

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and Madura suitable for any sort of tropical agriculture." Such descriptions led to the confident hope that the Northern Territory would become a great tropical province with a dense coloured population governed, like Java and India, by a white administration.

Quite different are the estimates by such a scientific observer as Dr. H. I. Jensen (1917, pp. 14-17), who was formerly Government Geologist for the Territory. He is less optimistic than many of his predecessors in the country. He gives a good report of the climate, which, he says (*ibid.*, p. 14), "is tropical, but as in other tropical semi-arid regions, healthy." The heat near the coast he admits is "unpleasantly humid," but some localities even near Port Darwin he describes as having a more comfortable climate. He describes (p. 16) the soils on the coastal area as "very poor, shallow, silicious, or ferruginous, except in alluviated depressions." The intense heat and bush fires of the dry season are very unfavourable factors, and (*ibid.*, p. 17) "therefore, fertile soils exist only in small alluviated pockets, and in small coastal raised beach areas. The former are subject to floods and the latter of very small extent." The soils inland are mostly richer in plant foods, but being dry require irrigation; and as the only water available for this purpose is from wells and is alkaline, gardens thus watered have to be frequently moved. He describes (*ibid.*, p. 22), the agricultural resources as "circumscribed," the rich patches of lowland soil being "so wretchedly small and so few," while the larger areas are situated where they could "only be successfully cultivated by the installation of great irrigation schemes, which are not warranted, while equally good areas are available in other States with better climate, facilities, and markets." Dr. Jensen's account of the poverty of the country explains its disappointing progress.

The growth of the population of the Northern Territory has been very slow and irregular; it consists, exclusive of the aborigines ("Year Book of Australia," No. 5, 1912, p. 1156), of the three elements, European, Chinese, and

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Japanese. The total in 1881 consisted of 3,435, of which 2,734 were Chinese and 670 were Europeans. In 1891 the number of Europeans had increased to 1,144, and the number of Chinese to 3,658, and there were 33 Japanese. The Chinese in 1890 numbered 4,141. By 1901 the population had declined to 1,055 Europeans, 2,690 Chinese, and 149 Japanese.

The reason for the steady decline of the Chinese population since 1888 may be understood from a map by Prof. Griffith Taylor (1917, p. 56), which shows that in south-eastern Asia Mongolians have only settled in areas with an annual rainfall of at least 50 inches. Only a few limited districts in Northern Australia around Darwin, Thursday Island, and Cairns are, on this test, suitable for Mongolian settlement. The Chinese have not colonized the Northern Territory because it is geographically unsuitable to them.

The attempt to develop the Northern Territory by coloured labour having failed after a trial of fifty years, Australia in 1901 resolved to apply there the White Australia policy, as the presence of Asiatics had done more to retard the country than to develop it. They did not come in sufficient numbers to give substantial help, and by keeping down wages they discouraged the entrance of white workers.

The second chapter in the economic history of the Northern Territory began in 1901 with the adoption of the White Australia policy. The country remained under the administration of South Australia, which had been promised that after federation the railway from Oodnadatta to Pine Creek should be completed. The expense of this line would, however, have been so great that the Federal Government felt bound to postpone its construction. The first decade after Australian federation was marked by the continuation of the steady decline of the Northern Territory. The total population, exclusive of aborigines, fell from 4,673 in 1901 to 3,233 in 1911. The new policy had little chance of success. South Australia,

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separated by the central deserts, was practically the most remote of the Australian states from the occupied parts of the Northern Territory; for the only communication was by sea around Western Australia or up the eastern coast. South Australia, the smallest but one in population and revenue of the states on the mainland, was in the worst position for helping the Northern Territory. Hence in 1911 the Territory was transferred to the Federal Government, which at once took active steps to investigate the country and promote its development. It appointed Dr. Gilruth, then Professor of Veterinary Hygiene at Melbourne University, as Administrator. He was selected as an expert in what appeared to be the industry for which the country offered the best prospect of success. Prof. Gilruth was a man of great vigour, and, as Bishop White (1919, p. 99) has reported, was unsparing of himself in his work for the Territory. He was assisted by a staff appointed to study the natural resources of the country and determine its possibilities. Experimental plantations and demonstration farms were established. The population increased from 3,233 in 1911 to 4,803 in 1917, and the financial loss on the Territory was multiplied about fourfold.

This stage in its development came to an abrupt conclusion in 1919 when the Administrator and some of his staff were compulsorily deported from the country by the residents at Darwin. This episode marked the failure of the policy of active development initiated by the Federal Government. The population decreased by 1921 to 3,737, and there is a steady loss by emigration. The exports have declined; shipping communication has become less frequent. The Government demonstration farms have been converted into compounds for the aborigines. The mineral production of 1920-21 was worth only £18,000, and the meat-canning factory, from which so much was hoped, has been closed.

The failure of the Northern Territory is not due to the White Australia policy, for it was complete before that

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policy was adopted. Dr. Jensen (*op. cit.*, "Proc. R. Geog. Soc. Austral.," XXXII-XXXIII, sep. copy, p. 23) attributes the failure to five natural obstacles. They are: "(1) insufficient agricultural land in the coastal area to make more than a few small farms in any one district; (2) necessity for expensive machinery to irrigate; (3) very costly irrigation works required to utilise the rather better back country for agriculture; (4) bad transport facilities; (5) want of local market." He is emphatic that the agricultural failure is not due to the White Australia policy.

The disappointing stagnation of the Northern Territory appears to be due to the impossibility of its profitable development during its present isolation. The anticipations based on the success of Java rested on a misleading analogy. Java before the European administration was a land of an ancient civilization and of a dense population. It is a country favoured with a rich, easily worked soil and an advantageously distributed rainfall. It is one of the richest of tropical gardens. In the Northern Territory, on the other hand, the soils in the main are poor and the distribution of the rainfall is unfavourable to most branches of agriculture.

The hopes for the Northern Territory were partly based upon the popular delusion that all tropical soils are fertile; whereas in regions where the weather alternates between a long hot dry season and a short season of heavy rainfall the soil is often barren and difficult to work. During the dry season the heat destroys the organic constituents in the soil, while in the wet season the torrential rains may wash away the loosened soil particles and leave wide sheets of barren subsoil. It is true that in some desert countries the soils are extremely prolific when watered, for during the long periods of rest the mineral constituents may undergo chemical changes by which their plant foods are rendered soluble. Hence when the land is watered during a wet season or by irrigation accumulations of such constituents as lime, potash, and phosphorus are available for the nourishment

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of the plants. In the complex soils of volcanic countries, long spells of dry weather render more of the mineral constituents available as plant foods. Where, on the contrary, the land is composed of rocks in which the sand grains mostly consist of broken particles of quartz, the plant foods may be small in quantity and may be washed out during the wet season. The ground is left bare and the soil infertile. The geological structure and geographical conditions of the Northern Territory give it as a whole a comparatively poor soil. The rainfall is also unfavourable. Along the coast the average is reported as about 65 inches a year; but unfortunately most of it falls in the three summer months, and all of it within five months; the remaining seven months are rainless, and during them the soil is exposed to dry scorching heat. The rain falls, moreover, in heavy storms, and the water, instead of soaking into the ground, tends to carry away the soil and to wash out its valuable constituents. On the floor of the river valleys the soil swept from the hills accumulates as alluvial plains. The present vegetation upon them appears to be mostly a rank growth of poor food value, but no doubt better fodder, grasses would grow if introduced, and if the land were stocked with cattle. The river-side plains have been proved capable of growing many tropical plants, including cotton, rice, coffee, sisal, and tobacco; but the conditions do not encourage the hope that these crops could compete successfully with those on some of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, which have richer soils, a better distributed rainfall, and a large population. The minerals proved include gold, tin, wolfram, silver, copper, and mica, but the deposits appear to be low-grade and remote. Dr. Jensen believes that the mineral resources are important, but have been hitherto rendered of little value by unsuitable administration and mining laws. So far as can at present be judged, the mineral industry is likely to be of subordinate importance until the country is opened by railways.

The industry for which the Northern Territory appears

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best adapted is stock-raising. The areas with a rainfall of more than 30 inches amount to 87,000 square miles, or less than one-sixth of the total. A hundred and forty thousand square miles have a rainfall of less than 10 inches and must be regarded as too arid to be of any service at present. The areas with a rainfall of from 15-20 inches, which is adequate for pastoral purposes, amount to over 150,000 square miles ("Australian Year Book," 1922, p. 52). Sheep have been tried, but the Government flock was unsuccessful owing to the ravages of dingoes and hawks. The cattle industry appears to be the main hope of the Territory, for there are large areas available for it and for horse-breeding. In 1921 the area under pastoral lease was 183,796 square miles with 659,840 cattle ("Australian Year Book," 1922, p. 942). Meat works were established near Darwin in 1917 to help the cattle industry, but they were closed in 1920 owing to the difficulties due to the irregularity of shipping communication.

The agricultural prospects of the Northern Territory depend on the 87,000 square miles with an annual rainfall of over 30 inches, and on the cultivation of such crops as rice and cotton in the coastal lowlands. There seems serious doubt as to whether these crops could be produced at a profit in competition with lands which have already plentiful local labour, and which are near the great markets and trade routes of the East. Even with coolie labour, under present conditions, the chances of the profitable cultivation of cotton in the Northern Territory appear unpromising. Dr. Jensen (1917, p. 23), after his personal experiments and observations, concludes, regarding cotton in the Northern Territory, "I have no faith in it." The expenses of raising cotton would be heavy and the freights high. From Port Darwin it is a long long way to Lancashire, and there seems no reason why Australian grown cotton should compete successfully in the Indian markets with that raised locally. Cotton cultivation in the Northern Territory will not be a tempting commercial enterprise unless there

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be some rise in the price of raw cotton, or a protective duty be established to secure its manufacture in Australia. Sufficient production to secure regular and cheap steamship communication is also necessary. The failure of the canning industry is instructive as to the difficulty of the Northern Territory due to its remoteness. The distance from Melbourne to Calcutta via the southern coast of Australia is 5,660 miles ; via the Torres Strait it is 6,750 miles. From Brisbane to Calcutta via Torres Strait and Singapore the distance is 5,700 miles. The voyage from Thursday Island, at the northern corner of Queensland, to Hongkong for China or Japan would be lengthened by about 700 miles by a call at Port Darwin. The Northern Territory unluckily is situated about mid-way between the two main trade routes to Australia—that from Freemantle to Ceylon, and that from Thursday Island to Manila and Hongkong. Steamer communication might be most economically arranged by vessels trading with the islands from Java to Timor calling at Port Darwin as part of a circular tour from Singapore.

One great asset of the Northern Territory is the magnificent harbour of Port Darwin. It has great advantages as a port for trade with India, for the distance to Calcutta via Singapore is 3,450 compared with 6,750 miles from Melbourne via Torres Straits ; and the passage from Port Darwin would be especially suitable for the transhipment of horses, as during most of the year the sea is smooth.

Port Darwin offers great advantages for a naval station. Searcy (1907, p. 354) referred to it as "the Singapore of Australia." Its great daily tidal change, though an inconvenience in some respects, would facilitate the construction of dry docks. Whereas Singapore might be blockaded by submarines which could shelter in innumerable hiding-places, and easily watch the narrow straits which give access from the south and west, Port Darwin could easily be defended from the sea and reinforced overland. A naval base in Port Darwin would require railway communication

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with south-eastern Australia, and two rival routes are proposed. A railway from the existing lines in Western Queensland to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria would be the least expensive and would have many commercial advantages. The second route is across the centre of the continent from Port Darwin to Port Augusta through Pine Creek and Oodnadatta. The construction of this line was one of the conditions of the Northern Territory Acceptance Act of 1910. Its construction has been delayed owing to claims that have been regarded as more urgent and profitable. It will, however, doubtless be made ultimately, owing to its advantages over the route to Queensland. It would give the Northern Territory an outlet by the shortest route to a different climate ; whereas the Queensland route would consist of a long railway running west and east in about the same latitude, and would carry the tropical produce of the Northern Territory to a tropical area which can easily produce more than it requires for itself. There would be no inducement to Queensland to help the Northern Territory to develop industries which would compete with its own. A railway to Port Augusta would, on the other hand, connect the Northern Territory with a large market for tropical fruit and vegetables, which could be sent by existing railways to the southern towns in both western and eastern Australia. The Pine Creek-Port Augusta Railway would have the strategic advantage that it would cross the inaccessible centre of the continent. Whereas a line along the southern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria would be exposed to attack from the sea.

As a commercial venture, as regards the prospects of early paying its working expenses, the route from Queensland is no doubt the more attractive. The considerations in favour of the central route are strategic and concerned with the ultimate political advantages. Canada, in order to attract settlers to unused country, but largely for protection against the danger of economic development of its central plains through the United States, has expended on its railways

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amounts vastly larger than would have been justified if immediate economic returns had alone been considered. According to W. G. Cater (1924, pp. 159, 160) the Canadian Governments had assisted the railways to the extent of \$1,542,369,018 in addition to land grants of 47,000,000 acres. For the year 1922 the deficit on the Canadian National Railway Board was \$60,251,845, or £13,900,000 at the present rate of exchange.

Canada appears confident that its courage in railway provision will be fully justified. In contrast with these sums the twelve million pounds estimated as the capital cost of the completion of the Central Railway to Port Darwin is small.

The construction of a trans-continental railway to Port Darwin would remove difficulties in the development of the Northern Territory which seem otherwise insurmountable. With the completion of the railway from Hongkong to Peking, which may be expected when settled conditions are restored in China, the quickest mail route to Europe would be via Port Darwin and Hongkong. Such a mail route with a naval station on Port Darwin would probably lead to the growth there of the largest city in tropical Australia, and afford a regular outlet for its canned meats and fruits to the large markets in south-eastern Asia. Settlement of Australians in the Territory would be encouraged if they could reach South Australia by a three days' railway journey instead of a fortnight's voyage.

The main problems of the future of the Northern Territory are at present concerned with its economic possibilities and not with its climate. Its general healthiness is asserted by many authorities. Searcy, for example, states (1907, p. 363): "I firmly believe, however, that for a tropical country the Territory is one of the most healthy in existence, and I know that Europeans, under certain conditions, stand the climate perfectly." The Preliminary Report of the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory (published in 1912, "Bull. Northern Territory,"

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No. I, pp. 4-5) reports that the country "is not really tropical in nature" though within the tropics, and that the back country, provided ordinary precautions are taken, is decidedly healthy. It states that school-children are showing no deterioration in intelligence. It refers (p. 4) to men "who have spent from three to four decades in the Territory, and every one of them compares favourably, both as regards physique and energy, with men of similar ages elsewhere." "Bearing in mind that the country was visited at the time of year when the climate was most suitable for Europeans the general health was remarkably good. The families of the second generation examined show no sign of physical deterioration." The Report quotes the opinion that it is "advantageous to send children away on reaching the age of ten or twelve," but does not recognize this as a climatic necessity as education is a factor (*ibid.*, p. 4). While the population is small the schools are naturally at a great disadvantage compared with those of the southern cities, and children will be sent for education and their parents will spend their vacations in the parts of Australia where the conditions are more mature.

The present backward position of the Northern Territory is due neither to unhealthiness nor to the White Australia policy but to geographical disadvantages in soil and position. Satisfactory progress seems impossible without railway connection with the main Australian centres of population; but even if that were established it would attract settlers slowly while better land is available in more accessible positions and nearer good markets.

Dr. W. H. W. Cheyne (1923, p. 80), after one of the most recent careful discussions of the problem, concludes that there "appear no scientific reasons why white people should not successfully inhabit the north. These conclusions must, however, be accepted with caution, and will have to bear the test of time. Three or four generations of whites, born, bred and intermarried in the tropics, must elapse before the problem can be considered as solved. Meanwhile every

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effort should be made to carry out under good conditions this vast physiological experiment." Dr. Cheyne, however, offers the warning "whether the north will become closely settled by whites is quite another matter," for he recognizes its economic disadvantages.

The best chance for the Northern Territory is for occupation by overflow from the south as the good land there becomes crowded. Tropical conditions have undeniable drawbacks, and settlers are not likely to be attracted to areas where the conditions are different from those to which they are accustomed while there is much fertile land unoccupied in the temperate parts of Australia. Sir J. W. Barrett (1918, II, p. 291) and Prof. Griffith Taylor (1917, p. 63), one of the leading Australian authorities who holds that the White Australian policy is impossible from climatic considerations, have both pointed out that while there are in Australia large areas of cool country with enviable conditions for labour awaiting settlement, the unfamiliar tropical regions will not prove attractive.

The settlement of the tropical regions will be a slow process ; but it can be best helped by opening railroads from the south, along which people of adventurous dispositions would be tempted to wander northward as the southern lands become more fully occupied.

The scanty population of the Northern Territory is no more surprising than that of the North-western Territory of Canada ; and while eastern Asia and the Eastern Archipelago contain vast areas of unused fertile land, Asia has no claim to admission and is under no temptation to attempt the difficult task of colonizing the unoccupied areas of tropical Australia.

CHAPTER VIII

Can the White Man Colonize in the Tropics?

"It is not the climate alone that kills troops in this country ; it is bad management. We seem as ignorant as if we had never before made war in it. A Roman army would have gone through their military exercises in the West Indies and have been healthy."

Letter from Sir John Moore to his father. Quoted by B. Brownrigg, "The Life and Letters of Sir John Moore," 1923, p. 65.

THAT the colonization of the tropics by the white races is impossible has been so often and so authoritatively proclaimed that it was for long one of the axioms of political geography. Thus Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his "Control of the Tropics" (1898, p. 48), declared that "the attempt to acclimatise the white man in the tropics must be recognized to be a blunder of the first magnitude. All experiments based upon the idea are mere idle and empty enterprises foredoomed to failure." The judgment of Lord Olivier (1906, p. 2) is that "tropical countries are not suited for settlement by whites. Europeans cannot labour and bring up families there." In reference to tropical Australia Mr. R. W. Hornabrook (1922, p. 364) is still more emphatic ; he declares that to send whites from Europe there "is nothing short of a crime—it is worse, it will be murder."

Some more cautious authorities regard such conclusions as unproved. Thus the late Lord Bryce (1912, p. xxiv) referred to "the still unascertained capacity of the European races for working and thriving in tropical countries" ; and in his "Romanes Lecture" (1903, p. 45) he suggested that this capacity may come with progress in medical science.

In recent years the opinion that the white races can colonize in the tropics has been confidently upheld. Thus a leading article in the "Journal of Tropical Medicine" (15th Jan., 1919, pp. 15-16) asserts, in reference to the settlement of ex-soldiers in the tropics—"Disease, not climate, the Enemy. . . . If there is one thing which the study of tropical diseases has shown us, it is that disease, and not the climate, is the cause of this crippling of trade, of the necessity for frequent changes 'home,' involving expense and the employment of a large permanent staff to fill the gaps caused by sickness and therefore lessening of profits. The legends, a 'bad climate,' an 'unhealthy climate,' are wellnigh expunged from tropical literature. All medical men familiar with the tropics are cognisant of the fact that disease, and what is more, *preventible* disease, is the cause of the bad name associated with any particular region of the tropics."

In view of such diametrically opposite opinions it is advisable to consider what are the factors in tropical climate that are believed to be so injurious to the white race. It must be recognized at the outset that the white peoples in mass have hitherto shunned the tropics, and that fact affords strong preliminary support to the view that there is something in tropical climate injurious to them. That conclusion appeared impregably established by the general distribution of the white and coloured races throughout the world. Dr. Andrew Balfour (1921, p. 6) remarks, "the nearer the equator, the darker as a rule the colour of the skin in native races, and this is not a question of heat, because the hottest parts of the earth are not under the equator but in north latitude 10°." That the tropics are the natural home of the coloured races and the temperate regions that of the white races, is suggested both by the instinctive sorting out of prehistoric people, and by the modern distribution of mankind. The automatic pressure of the environment appears to have forced the white race into Europe; in Asia to have driven the people with

the lighter coloured skins to the north and those of darker hues to the south ; to have given Africa wholly to the dark races ; in the modern resettlement of America to have made the white man predominant in the colder regions of northern North America and southern South America ; and to have left the coloured races in an overwhelming majority in tropical America, for the Negroes in North America are settled in the hot lowlands of the south-eastern States, while Mexico, Central America, and all northern South America are held by dark-coloured mixed races.

These simple facts are so impressive that those who hold that the white man can colonize in the tropics have to face a strong prepossession to the contrary. Nevertheless the general principle that the dark races hold the tropics and the white races the extra-tropical regions has many weighty exceptions. To quote again Dr. Andrew Balfour, "The distribution of the Mongolian races and the Red Indians must undoubtedly be disturbing to those who view the pigmented skin as a measure devised to protect the human body from the evil effects of the tropical sun." The whole of America, except for the Eskimo in the northern archipelago, was occupied by a dark-coloured section of the Mongolian race, who from their dark skins have been generally described as Red Indians. Flower and Lydekker ("Mammals," 1891, p. 752) say of them that "the colour of the skin, notwithstanding the enormous differences of climate under which many members of the group exist, varies but little." Such variation of tint as occurs is not coincident with latitude. In Asia also it is evident that colour is not directly dependent on temperature or distance from the equator. The northern Chinese are, it is true, lighter in colour than the southern Chinese ; but this difference was probably an effect of intermarriage and not of climate, and farther south the Siamese and some Burmese are darker in tint than people nearer to the equator in the Malay Archipelago. Similarly the Singalese,

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in spite of the hot and humid climate of Ceylon, are less black in colour than some Indian Dravidian tribes who live farther to the north. Similarly in Africa, though some of the blackest tribes inhabit the tropical belt north of the equator, there also occur people, such as some Abyssinians, who have lived in the country for millenniums and yet have a lighter tint. In spite of the extra-tropical condition of South Africa, the natives there show much the same range in coloration as some equatorial tribes. Even in Europe, though it is true that the Mediterranean people have darker complexions than the inhabitants of the north-western countries, the coloration is not due merely to distance from the tropics ; for the Lapps of northern Russia and northern Scandinavia are a coloured race. In Australia and New Zealand, excepting where in northern Australia there has been some intermarriage with non-Australian people, the aborigines are of the same brown colour in the cooler southern as in the hotter tropical and sub-tropical regions. The simple rule that intensity of skin colour varies as distance from the equator, has so many exceptions that it does not afford a safe basis for a national policy.

The recent physiological work bearing on the acclimatization of the white man in the tropics has been quoted in a valuable discussion by Dr. A. Balfour, in two lectures reported in the "Lancet" (June 30th, July 14th, and August 4th, 1923). His previous memoir on the subject (1921) leant towards the side of those who hold that there is nothing in climate to prohibit white settlement in the tropics ; but in his lectures he says that "though I would like to keep an open mind" he is not sure "that my mental pendulum is not swinging" in the opposite direction. He concludes, "We must wait and see," but is inclined to the view that the future of the tropics is with the half-breed (Balfour, 1923, p. 245). His discussion shows the complexity of the problem, as the most recent contributions to the physiological evidence are apparently inconsistent and are still inconclusive. The old dogmatic

assertion of the unsuitability of the tropics for the white man is no longer justified, and the arguments on which it rested have been demolished ; but it is still unproved that the physiological factors in the tropics are as favourable to the white man as those in the temperate zones. The physiological results, says Dr. Balfour, "are at present the only beacon-lights which may guide us to the haven of certainty" ; but they are still so fitful and so inconsistent in the directions they indicate, that they are unreliable guides.

FACTORS IN THE TROPICAL CLIMATE REGARDED AS INJURIOUS TO THE WHITE RACES

According to one school there is no physical reason why the white man should not live in any tropical climate, and maintain his physical health and fitness, provided his wages allow him to maintain his normal standard of life. The unhealthiness of the tropical regions is attributed to diseases caused by parasites, which can be prevented by proper sanitation. One pioneer in the advocacy of this view was Dr. L. W. Sambon (1897 and in 1920) who received the influential support of the late Sir Patrick Manson. In 1907 I wrote ("Australasia," Vol. I, p. 15), that "medical authorities on tropical climates seem now, however, to be coming to the opinion that this view [the unhealthiness of the tropical climate] is a popular prejudice which does not rest on an adequate foundation." That conclusion has been supported by the general trend of medical opinion during the past seventeen years.

The supposed inherent unhealthiness of the tropics to the white man has been attributed to several different factors, regarding which opinions have been conflicting and uncertain.

1. *HEAT*.—The first factor to be blamed was naturally the tropical heat, with the view that the dark skin of most tropical people, owing to its power of absorbing heat, has been developed to protect the internal organs of tropical

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man. This explanation ignores the subtle mechanism by which the human body adjusts itself to change of temperature.¹ Owing to that mechanism a healthy man can withstand without discomfort temperatures much higher than those of any climate on earth. In the classical experiments by Sir Charles Blagden in 1774,² Sir Joseph Banks entered a room at a temperature of 211° and remained there for seven minutes. According to Sir David Brewster ("Letters on Natural Magic," 4th edition, 1838, p. 311), Blagden subsequently raised the temperature of his experimental room to 260° and remained in it for eight minutes, though eggs were roasted hard in it and beefsteak cooked in thirty-three minutes. Brewster also records the fact that Chantrey's workmen when cleaning the furnaces worked without injury at a temperature of 340° , though their wooden clogs were charred by the heat of the iron floor. Chantry himself and several friends were exposed in a furnace for two minutes to the temperature of 320° F. Workmen engaged in the Paris bakeries enter ovens at still higher temperatures; and W. B. Carpenter ("Human Physiology," 8th edition, 1876, p. 563) quotes the instance of Chabert, the French "fire-king," who worked in ovens at temperatures of from 400 to 600° F. A man in normal health can resist dry heat at temperatures which would promptly cook dead animal tissues. The resistance of the living body is due to the evaporation from the surface keeping the temperature down to blood heat. That dry heat is not inimical to man is abundantly proved by the fact that the hottest districts in a country are often healthiest. The plateau of Colorado, for example, has much higher summer temperatures than are ever experienced in the Mississippi Valley or New York; yet it has a much healthier climate. Similarly in India, Agra, which is one of the hottest towns in summer, maintains its reputation as a more healthy residence for the English soldier than Bombay, which has a lower summer temperature. As Dr. Balfour (1923, p. 245) observes, apart from heat-stroke and

heat-exhaustion, "the actual pathological effects of a hot climate are few and far between." Dry heat affords no explanation of the heavy death-roll of the tropics.

2. *HUMIDITY COMBINED WITH HEAT*.—The appeal was next made to moist heat, and to the combination of heat and humidity that is measured by the wet-bulb thermometer. In still air which is saturated with moisture, perspiration is checked, and if the temperature is above blood-heat the body temperature rises with fatal consequences. A dose of atropin in a hot climate may be quickly fatal, by stopping perspiration. This fact has been illustrated, for example, by Shaklee's experiments with monkeys at Manila. The injurious effects of the conditions indicated by a high wet-bulb temperature have been shown by Prof. J. S. Haldane and Prof. Leonard Hill. According to Prof. Haldane, continuous hard work becomes impracticable with the wet-bulb thermometer above 78° F., "and beyond about 88° F. or 31° C. it becomes impracticable for ordinary persons even to stay for long periods in such air, although practice may increase to some extent the limit which can be tolerated."

- There was a tendency after the first experiments under artificial conditions in a closed room to regard a wet-bulb temperature of 75° as the maximum which could be tolerated under working conditions. This limit has been raised in consequence of further work; so that Prof. Leonard Hill, to prevent too high an extension, insisted in evidence before a committee on humidity in the cotton-weaving sheds (Parliamentary Paper, Cd. 4485, London, 1909, Appendix 6, pp. 222-3), that the idea that a "wet-bulb temperature of 80°-90° F. may be permitted in factories, where men are engaged for hours at work, is absurd." Dr. A. E. Boycott also recognized the power to work at wet-bulb temperatures over 80° F.; for he remarked before the same committee that "if, however, the wet bulb rises to 88°-90°, one becomes exceedingly uncomfortable, and on occasions feels very ill. These

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sensations can be, to some extent, remedied by local cooling of the skin (e.g. cold water on the head), but the rise of body temperature is progressive, and must eventually end in heat-stroke" (*ibid.*, App. 5, p. 222). Wet-bulb temperatures of 90° are very exceptional, and Dr. Boycott concludes that men may become acclimatized to some extent to a wet-bulb temperature of 85°, though "the power of doing work under these circumstances is quite small." Sir John Cadman, in evidence on mine ventilation, remarked that at 72° wet bulb, heavy clothing had to be removed; that at 80°, hard work is possible only in a good current of air and if a large surface of the body is exposed; and that from 80° to 85° wet bulb, work is seriously affected, and hard work is impossible.

Nevertheless, in spite of the experiments, the records of well-authenticated temperatures show that work may be undertaken under natural conditions even with wet-bulb temperatures of over 90°. Thus white miners in the deep gold mines of Bendigo have worked for several months in spells of four hours at a time in a wet-bulb temperature of 95°. [A. H. Merrin, Chief Inspector of Mines in Victoria. "Ventilation, Dust Allaying, and Sanitation in Mines." Dep. Mines, Victoria, 1907 (1908), reprint p. 2.] A series of records that were kindly collected for me by Mr. R. G. K. Lempfert of the Meteorological Office include wet-bulb temperature at the Hong-Kong Observatory in July, 1905, as 83.9°. In the Straits Settlements "temperatures of above 80° are by no means uncommon, and they rise to 86°." In Beaufort in North Borneo the readings for some months, as in January, are mostly over 80°, and wet-bulb temperatures of over 90° are by no means uncommon. Ocean Island, one of the Pacific phosphate islands, in October, 1909, had a wet-bulb temperature of 87°.

Sir J. W. Barrett (1918, Vol. II, pp. 401-4 and pl. opp. p. 402) has illustrated the wet-bulb temperature in Australia by two charts, which show that in mid-winter

only a small part of the Northern Territory and Queensland have wet-bulb temperatures higher than 70° , and that in mid-summer in 1910 the only part of Australia which had a wet-bulb temperature of above 80° was a coastal strip in Western Australia around Broom and Derby; the northern parts of the Northern Territory and of Queensland had then wet-bulb temperatures of over 75° . Moreover, he points out again in reference to wet-bulb records (*ibid.*, II, p. 402), that "the absolute maximum in Central Park, New York, between May and September is invariably 80° , and in July 83° ."

New York, including its environs, has the greatest city population in the world; a population greater than the whole of that of Australia there endures every summer wet-bulb temperatures which, according to Sir J. W. Barrett's chart, are higher than in the Northern Territory, and are equalled in Australia only by a narrow strip along the north-western coast.

The effects of a hot humid climate may be overcome by acclimatization. That an animal may in the course of a few generations become adapted to a high wet-bulb condition is indicated by the interesting experiments of Sundstroem (1922), with albino mice. He reared a thousand mice belonging to four successive generations in a hot humid tropical atmosphere, at a wet-bulb temperature of 82.2° F., and an average temperature of 89° F. He found that the growth of the mice was retarded if the air were stagnant; but the effect was much less marked if the air were in movement. The effect was strongest on mice of the second and third generation, for by the fourth generation the rate of growth had to a large extent recovered by adaptation to the conditions. The retardation of growth, it is interesting to note, was more noticeable on the female than on male mice.

Hence it is obvious that though life under a high wet-bulb temperature is uncomfortable, large communities survive wet-bulb temperatures of 85° to 90° . Prof. Osborne (1920,

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p. 266) has pointed out that the wet-bulb thermometer is not sufficiently sensitive to air movement to be a reliable guide in climatology. Some of the defects of the wet-bulb thermometer are avoided by the katathermometer, which has been invented by Prof. Leonard Hill. It measures the time taken for a large bulb which has been heated in warm water to fall from 100° to 90° F. However, some Australian experiments (Osborne, 1917; 1920, p. 266; supported by W. J. Young, 1920, p. 320) indicate that this instrument is too sensitive to air movement to be reliable; and it has not yet been used adequately in tropical regions for its value as a guide in colonization to be determined.

The wet-bulb thermometer has been proved of high practical value in regard to factories and workshops; but it has no real bearing on white *versus* coloured colonization, since there seems no reason why coloured men should withstand higher wet-bulb temperatures than white men. In a letter from Prof. Haldane he remarked that "as regards black *versus* white men, my impression is that (apart from actinic effects from which black pigment in the skin shields the deeper structures) white men can usually stand more heat than black men. A P. and O. engineer told me that the stokers from the Clyde stand the heat in the stokeholds in places like the Red Sea better than the Lascars, and, in fact, have constantly to carry the latter out and lay them on deck to cool down. It is probably a matter of heart endurance and activity of the skin circulation; but probably this varies in different black and white races."

The cost of Kanakas in the Queensland sugar plantations was increased by their heavy mortality. They were all picked men in the prime of life, and invalids were rejected at the port of entry. They served in Australia for only three years. Yet, according to Sir Malcolm McEacharn, their death-rate (Gregory, 1910, p. 377) from 1891 to 1895 was 42.73 per 1,000 per annum; from 1896 to 1900 it was 30.08 per 1,000. At Mackay, in 1902, it was 26 per

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1,000, and in 1903, 32 per 1,000; whereas at the same town among the white population the deaths, those of infants and from old age included, were only 12 per 1,000. Life in tropical Queensland was therefore more fatal to these carefully selected Kanakas than to the white population.

A high wet-bulb temperature need not be taken as an insuperable objection to a locality until some effort has been made to correct the conditions it indicates. A high wet-bulb temperature in houses could be reduced by refrigeration, a method already in use in the United States. Until methods of protection and accommodation are tried it is no more reasonable to assert that people cannot live in an area with a high wet-bulb temperature, than it would have been to assert the physical impossibility of living through a northern winter without reference to combating the cold by artificial means. The discomfort of an Arctic winter without fires would be more severe than that of any tropic climate.

3. *THE EQUABLE CLIMATE*.—The third factor alleged to be detrimental to the white man in the tropics is the depressing effect of life under an equable unchanging climate. Prof. Ellsworth Huntington especially has laid stress on the value of changes in the weather, and therefore regards a certain amount of storminess in a climate as a valuable asset. Dr. Andrew Balfour has also suggested that one of the debilitating effects of the tropics may be the slight range in temperature. The equable condition applies, however, only to a small part of the tropics. The tropical highlands have great differences in temperature between night and day and from season to season. The fundamental difficulty in some tropical districts is, in fact, the severity of the change from a season of destructively heavy rain and extreme humidity to a long spell of withering drought. Extreme monotony in the weather is doubtless depressing; but, on the other hand, moderate equability is often lauded as a pleasant and beneficial feature in a

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climate. Sudden changes are trying even when they are from extreme conditions. Thus in the Arctic Sir John Parry, the explorer, remarked that his men found a rise of temperature from -13° to 23° F. extremely uncomfortable. The physiological effect of a narrow range of climate is uncertain; but any ill-effects can be usually remedied by a holiday from the low country to the hills or from them to the plains. The areas where extreme uniformity prevails throughout the year are, however, so restricted that though some such places may be of great commercial or strategic importance, they do not affect the problem of tropical settlement as a whole.

4. *TROPICAL SUNSHINE*.—Far more weight has been attached to the next characteristic—the alleged pernicious effect of the sun's rays. There is great doubt whether tropical sunshine is really injurious, while the explanations of its action that have been offered are indefinite and contradictory. The view was once prevalent that the ultra-violet or chemically active rays of the sun do the alleged mischief. While that view was in vogue residents in the tropics were advised to line their clothes with orange or red-coloured fabrics because of their opacity to the chemical rays. The adoption of red cloth for the Turkish fez was attributed to experience having shown that the colour was practically beneficial owing to its protection from the ultra-violet rays.

This theory was strongly urged by C. E. Woodruff in his book on "The Effects of Tropical Light on White Man" (1905). In West Africa, however, as I have previously remarked (1912, p. 5) many tropical cities with a low sun record, such as Loanda, where the sky is absolutely clear only ten days or so in the year, are unhealthy, while the plateau to the east, which during most of the year is bathed in brilliant sunshine, is much healthier.

Woodruff's view that people with dark complexions withstand tropical conditions better than fair people is not supported by W. P. Chamberlain's observations in the

Philippines. He found that though the blondes in the American army there were more numerous than the brunettes, the men invalided home were in a ratio of 100 blondes to 126 brunettes, and the latter he reports suffer especially from neurasthenia and tuberculosis (Chamberlain, 1911, p. 453). Woodruff held that owing to excessive sunlight the blonde races cannot survive within forty degrees of the equator, and that therefore the chemical rays of the sun inhibit the permanent settlement by the white race of any part of the southern hemisphere, excepting for the southern end of Patagonia. Shortly before the date of Woodruff's book a long series of droughts in Australia led to extensive emigration, and the number of its population became for a time practically stationary. Woodruff interpreted this stagnation as evidence that the Australian population was dying out in consequence of the overpowering sunlight. He was convinced that the New Zealanders also show evidence of physical decay; and he deplored that the health of American and European children was being ruined by the "daft" practice, as he called it, of flooding schoolrooms and nurseries with streams of light! It is not surprising that Woodruff's conclusions have been set aside.

Valuable experiments on the efficiency of coloured clothes are described by Mr. Grabham (1921, pp. 267-70). J. M. Phalen (1910, pp. 525 *et seq.*), after extensive observations on American soldiers in the Philippines, found "that certainly no beneficent effect, however, was observed from the use of the orange-red underwear, but that it was hotter than other material and was therefore to some extent injurious." This conclusion has been reaffirmed from the Philippines by Aron (1911, p. 103).

Less importance is now attached to the use of red and orange-lined garments, and to the actinic rays. Aron (1911, p. 103), from observations made in the Philippines, urges that the injurious elements in the solar rays are the heat-giving red rays, and he regards the chemically active

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rays as harmless. British opinion goes even farther, for "The Times" now publishes daily a figure recording the strength of the ultra-violet rays of sunshine because, as it explained (21st March, 1924), recent "research has disclosed the fact that much of the health value of sunlight resides in its ultra-violet rays."

The diametrically opposite opinions as to the influence of the ultra-violet and red rays show that the facts are uncertain, and that there is no clearly marked effect. Heliotherapy, a now lauded cure, depends upon exposure to the sun's rays, and on the beneficial action of what had been regarded as the fourth bane of the tropical climate.

5. *ALTITUDE*.—Combined with the action of the sun's rays is the effect of altitude which in the tropics may have a double effect. The diminished atmospheric pressure places extra strain on the blood-vessels, and any constituent in the solar rays which may be injurious would be less sifted out during passage through the atmosphere. That many people suffer from a prolonged stay at a high altitude is unquestionable; but these ill-effects occur outside the tropics as well as within them.

Work in the rarefied air of high altitudes is difficult to those used to a lower level; and, according to the experiments of Dr. Joseph Barcroft, the difference is due to a change in the blood. Occasional men, such as Oskar Eckenstein, find no diminution in their physical strength and endurance at great altitudes. Dr. Barcroft found that Mr. Eckenstein has blood of abnormally low alkalinity, which may explain his indifference to the reduction in air pressure.

The general discussion of the question by Dr. F. F. Roget in "Altitude and Health," 1919, indicates that people in normal health soon become acclimatized to life at any altitude, at which other conditions render residence practicable, in any part of the world. The monks at the Hospice on the Great St. Bernard, in spite of their long residence at that altitude, enjoy good health and often attain a great age. Dr. Roget also shows that the alteration

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of breathing by the Swiss who live in high Alpine villages fully adapts them to the atmospheric conditions.

Whether there is any special effect at high tropical localities the evidence is at present inadequate to show. Dr. Murdoch Mackinnon (1920, pp. 944-5) has carefully investigated the effects on children of life at or about 6,000 feet at Nairobi in Kenya Colony, eighty miles from the equator. He considered the effects on the heart, and concluded that they are so manifest that only games should be "allowed, which are not of an exhausting nature." It has often been remarked that Mombasa, which was once regarded as deadly to white people, is now often visited by residents on the plateau as a health resort ; and the benefit received is doubtless partly due to the air pressure at sea-level being 6 inches more than at Nairobi.

Dr. Mackinnon (1923, p. 137), after further study of 500 children in the Kenya Highlands, reports that "the general physique is on the average much above that of children at home"; he regards the effects of altitude (*ibid.*, p. 139) as beneficial. Nevertheless, he concludes that after the age of ten the children deteriorate so badly that they ought all to be sent home for their education. He feels this so strongly that he urges (p. 140) "kindergarten and elementary schools only should be provided in this country, and no encouragement should be given to secondary education, except to those whose circumstances are such that they are unable to send their children home." Dr. Mackinnon concludes then that the climate is good for the general physique, but bad for the nerves. He remarks (p. 140) that the school buildings are unsuitable for the climate, and that the children were kept at work through the heat of the afternoon in overheated rooms. His statement (*ibid.*, p. 140) that "cold and temperate climates have always been the stimulus to concentration and the application of mental energy," and his preference for "boarding-schools only" suggest a personal predilection for conditions not present in Kenya Colony. The unsuitability

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of the environment there for growing school children is probably not only climatic ; as in India the real advantage of sending children to Europe for their education is ethical and not physical.

The ill-effects noticed by Dr. Mackinnon may be due to the altitude ; for the evidence by Bercovitz (quoted by Balfour from the "Journ. Amer. Med. Assoc.," Vol. 76, 1921, p. 1649) shows that the children of the missionaries in the more severely tropical and less healthy climate of Hai-nan in southern China (lat. 18° to 20° S.) have been reared successfully, and have maintained excellent health.

That life at high altitude in the sub-tropics is not necessarily deleterious is shown by the tea planters of Darjeeling, who as a class are healthy, in spite of their constant residence 6,000 feet or more above sea-level and their exposure during the heat of the day in plantation work. The effects of life on high altitudes appears to be in the main independent of latitude. The essential condition is the rarefied state of the atmosphere, which would be practically the same in all parts of the world. This factor, therefore, does not enter into the comparison of residence within and without the tropics.

MISCELLANEOUS PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

The simple factors which were at first regarded as fatal to the welfare of the white man in the tropics having proved unreliable, later authorities have appealed to less definite agencies. As an example of one of the most explicit recent explanations why the tropics are so insalubrious to the white man may be cited that by Lieut-Col. E. F. Gordon Tucker of the Grant Medical College in Bombay ("Indian Year-Book," 1921, pp. 465-6). He insists that in addition to parasitic diseases there is "the strain of climate" as "a cause of deteriorated health" and "premature senility of the tissues." He enumerates nine causes of this strain as follows :

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1. The transfer of a body, which has adapted itself by its heat-regulating mechanism to its native climate, to one that is hotter. "On arrival in a country where the temperature of the air is perhaps the same as that of the living tissues," he says, "it is obvious that there must be a sudden and violent disturbance of such mechanism." The mean temperature of a European in India, he declares (p. 466) to be "always about half a degree higher than it is in a temperate climate."

2. The lessened activity of the lungs, as the amount of carbon dioxide given off is reduced 20 per cent, the number of respirations per minute is also reduced.

3. The lessened activity of the kidneys.

4. The constant and abnormal activity of the sweat glands due to the extra heat being all dissipated by evaporation instead of by radiation to the cooler air.

5. The active perspiration requiring the use of the punkah to remove the excess by air circulation, the increased flow of blood to the surface occasions the danger of sudden chills.

6. The "chronic hyperæmia" (congestion of the blood) in the skin favours the development of such fungi as those of ringworm and boils, and also of prickly heat, which he attributes to a particular microbe that alters the reaction of the skin.

7. Neurasthenia due to "nervous disturbance due to climate," as there is "going on continuously and unconsciously a tax on the nervous system which is absent in temperate climates."

8. The dangers due to the "effect of heat on food," of which he especially mentions microbes in milk, the dirtiness of native servants, and the danger of tapeworm from underdone meat due to carelessness in cooking.

9. The weakening and diminished vitality due to residence in the tropics as indicated by the "extra" charge made by insurance companies on those who have been resident in the tropics.

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These nine items may be divided into four groups. The last item, that of insurance practice, may be taken first and dismissed as it is only set forward as an unexplained result, and as experience elsewhere shows that such extra charges are not evidence against climate. The risks to life may be sufficient to justify this charge in India ; but that they are not due to anything inherent in the tropical climate is obvious from the testimony of Mr. C. A. Elliot, the Chief Actuary to the Australian Mutual Provident Society, as to tropical Queensland : " I have no hesitation in saying that as far as we know at present there is no need for life assurance offices to treat proponents who live in North Queensland differently from proponents who live in other parts of Australia."

Dr. W. H. W. Cheyne (1923, pp. 78-9) states that during some months' medical insurance work in Northern Australia " I saw no evidence of physical degeneration. Some young men, born and bred in the north, were as fine examples of physical development as could be found anywhere."

The special dangers from food may be equally dismissed as due to association with an insanitary race. One of the strongest impressions made by my first visit to India was that but for the tropical sun, torrential rains during the wet season, and the intense heat of the rest of the year, the population, would have been kept far below its present amount by epidemics due to bad sanitation.

(1) Of the remaining seven factors four seem to be directly contradicted as matters of fact by reliable authorities, and the others are trivial³ or non-climatic. Thus, the asserted rise in body temperature is contrary to observations in other tropical countries ; a small rise takes place on entering a hot climate, but there is strong medical testimony that this rise is not permanent. Breinl and Young have collected an extensive series of observations on the body temperature of white people in the tropics, and they remark that " many observers have denied that there is any marked difference in

the body temperature." They quote especially (*op. cit.*, 1920, p. 375) the extensive observations of Chamberlain (1911) in the Philippines at quarterly intervals on 600 American soldiers, in whom the temperature averaged 98.7° F., and "this average differed little, if at all, from the mean normal temperature of white men living in the United States."

Dr. Andrew Balfour (1921, p. 2) has also noted that there is often a rise of body temperature when a resident from a temperate climate enters the tropics, and that some white residents "never adapt themselves properly to the altered conditions"; yet, he adds, "it has been definitely shown that there is no increase in the body temperature of acclimatized Europeans while they are resting or taking moderate exercise." "Full acclimatization," he proceeds, "is said to take four years to accomplish, but the adjustment of temperature is a much shorter process." The slight rise of temperature is soon lost as the body adapts itself to the new conditions. That men can easily become acclimatized to the moist heat of even the most trying of tropical localities is indicated by Shaklee's (1917) experiments on monkeys in Manila. He found that when exposed to the sun on the roof of a house, unacclimatized monkeys died from the heat in from seventy to eighty minutes. The effect of the sun alone was comparatively slight. Fatal results were only obtained when the monkey was near some large heated surface of wall or roof, when the air was moist, and the wind was slight. Man is less subject than monkeys to extreme heat; for owing to his erect posture his vital organs are further from the heated ground, and his furless body is more readily cooled by perspiration. The main lesson of the experiments of Shaklee was the proof that monkeys on a suitable diet became acclimatized to an exposure which at first proved fatal. He concludes (1917, p. 21) from his experiments that "the healthy white men may be readily acclimatized to the conditions named, that is, to the tropical climate at its worst." He adds that in acclimatiza-

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tion the most important factor is the proper regulation of diet.

(2) The asserted 20 per cent reduction of carbon dioxide in the air from the lungs is also contradicted on high authority. Dr. W. J. Young at Townsville concludes that the reduction in respiratory reactions is at its minimum at temperatures between 59° and 77° F., which are those of a warm temperate and not of a tropical climate.

Prof. Osborne (1911, p. 353), from observations made during especially hot days at Melbourne, found that the rate of respiration increased when the temperature rose over 100° F. Chamberlain (1911, p. 427), from extensive observations on 608 American soldiers in the Philippines, found that the average rate of respiration was increased from 17-18 per minute, which is the normal in temperate climates, to 19.3 per cent. These increases in the rate of respiration would counterbalance the lower production of carbon dioxide at each breath, and Dr. Balfour (1923, p. 86) suggests that the more rapid breathing may occasion fatigue; but this effect is clearly insignificant, and would doubtless be adjusted by some difference in exercise.

It has been urged that residents in the tropics must avoid violent physical exercise to avoid a rise of body temperature; but as is justly pointed out by K. Hintze in a study of the influence of the tropical climate on the white man, 1916 (summarized in "Tropical Diseases Bull.," XV, 1920, pp. 296-8), the vigour of British tropical residents in recreation and hunting shows that the European can do hard bodily work in the tropics, and that its effects are beneficial. Hintze insists that the people who fail to keep their health there are those who will not modify their European modes of life, or resourceless people who become home-sick.

The tropics appear to cause no important change in either the blood or blood pressure, as shown by W. P. Chamberlain's researches in the Philippines (1911, Nos. 2

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and 3). He remarks (1911, p. 481) "that the blood pressure of Americans residing in the Philippines differs but little, if any, from the average at home"; also (p. 479), that "the mean blood pressure for Filipinos . . . does not differ from the pressure at the same ages of Americans residing in the Philippines."

(3) The decreased activity of the kidneys has been carefully investigated by Dr. W. J. Young (1915 and 1919); the amount of urine and of salt discharged in it are reduced, because much moisture is removed from the body by perspiration. But this process is not injurious to health, and it is asserted, as by Dr. A. Balfour (1921, p. 6), that there is less trouble with the kidneys in tropical than in temperate climates. He repeats (1923, p. 245) that "there is no evidence that tropical climates damage the kidneys in any way. On the contrary, they are unusually beneficial, lessening the strain on renal tissue." A change in the nitrogen content of the urine would be more serious, but this change does not happen, for according to observations of Eijkman in Java (1893), of Schiller and Jaffé in West Africa (1909), and of Campbell (1907) in Singapore, the amount of nitrogen in the urine is the same as in Europe.⁵ W. J. Young finds, on the contrary, that the average nitrogen content in Townsville is lower than is the rule in Europe; but it is higher than that of the Bengali in India, and in one of his four cases the amount was higher than the average of a series of corresponding cases in London. The explanation of the variations may be found in diet; and the contradictory nature of the records shows that there is no one invariable climatic influence which is injurious to the kidneys of the white resident in the tropics.

The remaining item in Colonel Tucker's indictment of the tropical climate is based on neurasthenia, "that lowering of nerve potential" and "nervous instability" indicated in the old saying that a European resident in India returns with "a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart." Colonel Tucker attributes nerve trouble to the heat, which

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may act suddenly in heat-stroke, or by long-drawn-out exhaustion due to deficient mental energy. Like many nervous maladies this undefined ailment does not lend itself to direct proof or disproof by experiment and observation. It is an open question whether the nervous instability is due to climatic or ethnical conditions. Some authorities, for example Dr. A. Balfour, suggest that electrical conditions in dry tropical localities are the factor wearing to the nervous organization of the European. "There can be no doubt," says Balfour (1921, p. 5), "that the nervous system is that on which the chief stress of a tropical climate falls," that "very hot dry climates are those which try the nervous system most, and women and children especially suffer. Electrical conditions appear powerfully to affect the nervous system in such countries, though their action is ill-defined and difficult to explain." According to this view dry heat is really worse for white people than wet heat—a conclusion which is opposed to the general impression that hot muggy climates are the worst in the tropics.

There is more authoritative testimony to the possible ill-effects of the tropical climate on the nerves than on any other organ. "The effects of climate on the nervous system," says Dr. Balfour, "appears to me to be the crux of the whole question" (1923, p. 245). And the most positive medical declaration in recent years of the inability of the white races to withstand a tropical climate is in an address by Surgeon-General Sir R. Havelock Charles (1913) entitled, "Neurasthenia and its bearing on the Decay of Northern Peoples in India." He maintains that extreme heat affects the nervous system and through it causes the deterioration of the rest of the body; he does not explain the process physiologically, but points to the evidence of history that the white races have degenerated when they have settled in the tropics. He attributes the effect to climate; but Sir H. Charles remarks also the demoralizing effect of the association with a coloured race. "If," he says (*ibid.*, p. 30), "the white people live with a coloured

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race, then those occupations which a colonising people must preserve for themselves, such as agriculture, various trades and lines of life will not be followed, and it follows as a certainty that that country will not be for a white race." Nervous ailments, however, are notoriously intangible, and they often depend on social conditions. Men in isolated localities are often inadequately cared for, and suffer from the neglect of slight ailments which would yield to careful nursing. The nervous breakdown of men in such conditions in the tropics is probably no more frequent in proportion to their numbers than the development of "hut madness" by boundary riders living for months on end in the "silence of the herder's hut alone" on the great Australian sheep and cattle stations in one of the healthiest climates of the world, and of corresponding mental troubles by the fur trappers of northern Canada.

In the discussion in Sir H. Charles' paper it was brought out by Dr. Basil Price (Charles, 1914, p. 22) that the incidence of neurasthenia among missionaries is especially heavy in Japan, which is outside the tropics. In some tropical countries where mental ailments were excessive they have been reduced by improved conditions. In the early days of the American occupation of the Philippines the troops suffered especially from nervous diseases and insanity; but W. P. Chamberlain attributes (1911, p. 460) these ailments to parasitic diseases that were rampant until preventive measures were adopted; and he has given a table for the years 1903-9 showing that later on "there is no constant or essential difference between the admission rates for insanity and nervous diseases in the United States and in the Philippine Islands. In many instances the ratio is higher in the United States." He also remarks that "those who suffer most from nervous affections are the women."

The nervous troubles of white men in the tropics are often due to the privations of pioneer life, and that of white women to the constant strain of wresting from native

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servants the service which in Britain is given easily owing to generations of training and tradition. Nervous strain is more likely due to interracial friction than to climate. It is a stronger argument against interracial association than against European settlement in an empty tropical land.

The physiological evidence is therefore rather confused and conflicting, and, in spite of the stress laid on neurasthenia, the deleterious effects on the white race attributed to the tropical climate are not established. This conclusion is supported by Professor W. A. Osborne of the University of Melbourne, who has given special attention to the problems of human acclimatization. In his last discussion of the subject (1920, p. 226) he reduces the physiological disabilities in tropical climate to only two—neither of which in his opinion is of much weight. The first is that the surface of the body must have a larger share of the blood supply; and he remarks that this is not serious. The second is that a longer time is taken by the body in cooling after violent exertion; and he remarks that it is still hard to say how far that factor is deleterious, since there is now fairly universal insistence that vigorous exercise is necessary in the tropics for the maintenance of health.⁶

THE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

It is often said that the tropics are impossible as a natural home for the northern race, as children cannot be reared in them. This conclusion is supported by the custom of sending European children away from India. This practice is, however, now generally recognized as mainly followed for education and ethical reasons. Hintze (1916) asserts, in reference to the tropics, that "children flourish exceedingly; perhaps they grow too fast"; and he sees "no reason for sending them to Europe except for the educational advantages and having regard to the risk of sexual precocity in the tropics."

The argument from this practice is therefore further evidence of the difficulty of the association of races of

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different types of culture, and not against climate. 'The difficulty is ethical, not climatic. Children, in fact, do well in the tropics not only in babyhood, but, under proper sanitary conditions, in later years. The work of Sir Joseph Fayrer at the Lawrence Institute shows that when the children of even the poorer classes of Europeans in India are well-managed their death-rate may be as low as in the British Isles.'

HISTORIC EXPERIENCE

Medical authorities recognize that knowledge of the climatic effects of the tropics on white people is still insufficient for a final opinion. Dr. A. Balfour remarks, "our knowledge as regards the effects of tropical climates alone is very limited and inexact in many particulars." Regarding the equable temperature factor he adds (Balfour, 1921, p. 2), "we are still very ignorant about the subject." Doctors Breinl and W. J. Young (1920, p. 372) point out in respect to the comparative investigation of the physiology of the white and coloured people in the tropics that "the results so far are by no means complete, and a decided answer is still to seek."

The guidance from physiology as to the possibility of white settlement in the tropics must therefore be supplemented by historic experience. When considering the assertions that some regions of the globe are impracticable as a residence for the white man, it is well to remember that opinion once emphatically condemned localities that are now sanatoria.

The Netherlands include in Belgium one of the most densely peopled areas in the world, and along the Ostend coast some fashionable holiday resorts. Yet in the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century the deadliness of its climate was notorious. Only thirty miles from Ostend is the island of Walcheren, to which, in 1809, was sent the largest army which had then ever left the English shores. The force amounted to 70,000 men.

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"Only keep them in check," said Napoleon, "and the bad air and fevers peculiar to the country will soon destroy their army." Napoleon's judgment was justified. The expedition landed on the 31st of July and 1st of August. By the 10th of October 142 per thousand were dead of disease and 587 per thousand were ill (J. R. Martin, 1861, p. 275).

Samuel Johnson pointed out in his remarkable pamphlet, "Thoughts on the Falkland's Islands" (1771, Works, 1787, Vol. X, p. 60), that our most deadly foe in the wars with France and Spain was disease. "The life of a modern soldier is ill-represented by heroick fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless, and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled, and armies sluggishly melted away. Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the most part with little effect."

Algeria is now a favourite health resort; but the French army which conquered it lost annually through disease seven per cent of its numbers; and in view of this mortality the country was condemned as impossible for Europeans. Sambon has quoted the saying of General Duveyrier that in Algeria the only institutions that grew were the cemeteries. According to Sir A. M. Tulloch (quoted by Martin, 1861, p. 128), "Had the Government of France, for instance, adverted to the absolute impossibility of any population increasing or keeping up its numbers under an annual mortality of seven per cent (being that to which their settlers are exposed at Algiers), it would never have

entered on the wild speculation of cultivating the soil of Africa by Europeans, nor have wasted a hundred million sterling with no other result than the loss of 100,000 men, who have fallen victims to the climate of that country. In such questions, military returns, properly organized and properly digested, afford one of the most useful guides to direct the policy of the Colonial legislator; they point out the limits intended by Nature for particular races, and within which alone they can thrive and increase; they serve to indicate to the restless wanderers of our race, the boundaries which neither the pursuit of wealth nor the dreams of ambition should induce them to pass; and proclaim, in forcible language, that man, like the elements, is controlled by a Power which hath said, 'Hither shalt thou come, but no further'!"

Similarly in West Africa military experience also led to the view that only exceptional Europeans could survive its climate for even a few years. Sir A. M. Tulloch (1840, p. 27) declared that, "Of the military culprits sent to the coast of Africa one-half generally died during the first quarter, and the average duration of life among the others did not exceed fifteen months." Tulloch's report on West Africa is of interest, as he rejected (p. 26) the then prevalent theory that malaria was due to a miasma emitted by marshes. Although he has been justified in that conclusion his condemnation of the climate has been repudiated by the change of Lagos from "the White Man's Grave" to a town of normal healthiness.

In some West Indian localities, thanks apparently to the insight of some of the officers, the troops enjoyed as good health as in the British Isles (Martin, 1861, p. 276). Yet as a rule the West Indian death-rate was appalling. The great obstacle in military operations in those islands was disease. Its effect on military operations around the Spanish Main has been graphically represented by Samuel Johnson (1771, p. 64): "The attack of Carthagera is yet remembered, where the Spaniards from the ramparts saw their

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invaders destroyed by the hostility of the elements; poisoned by the air, and crippled by the dews, where every hour swept away battalions; and in the three days that passed between the descent and re-embarkation, half an army perished. In the last war the Havanna was taken, at what expense is too well remembered. May my country be never cursed with such another conquest!" The curse was due to disease, and Havana, after the suppression of yellow fever and its sanitary administration by General Gorgas, is now claimed as one of the healthiest cities in the world.

Among the great modern triumphs in tropical sanitation was that achieved by Surgeon-General Gorgas at Panama. The French attempt to build the Canal there collapsed mainly owing to mortality among the workmen. The discovery of the true nature of yellow fever and malaria enabled Gorgas to protect the canal builders from those diseases; and in spite of the high rainfall and moist heat, which gave Panama one of the most trying kinds of tropical climate, the men constructing the canal were secured health equal, if not superior, to that of the temperate parts of the United States. Gorgas, inspired by his results, predicts that owing to the fertility of many of the moist tropical riverside plains, they will in time be occupied by the white race and become the great granaries of the world. The following quotation states the results which he had achieved and his convictions as to the future development of the tropical lowlands.

"The real scope of tropical sanitation, which has been almost entirely developed within the last fifteen or twenty years, I believe, will extend far beyond our work at Panama. Everywhere in the tropics, to which the United States has gone in the past fifteen years, it has been shown that the white man can live and exist in good health. This has occurred in the Philippines, in Cuba, and in Panama, but the demonstration has been most prominent and spectacular at Panama, and therefore has attracted there the

greatest world-wide attention. Here, among our large force of labourers, we had for ten years some ten thousand Americans—men, women, and children. Most of these American men did hard manual labour, exposed to the sun, rain, and weather conditions day in and day out, yet during that time their health remained perfectly good, just as good as if they were working at home. The same remark as to health would apply to the four thousand women and children who lived at Panama with their husbands and fathers. Both the women and children remained in as good condition as they would have been had they lived in the United States. This condition at Panama, I think, will be generally received as a demonstration that the white man can live and thrive in the tropics. The amount of wealth which can be produced in the tropics for a given amount of labour is so much larger than that which can be produced in the temperate zone by the same amount of labour that the attraction for the white man to emigrate to the tropics will be very great, when it is appreciated that he can be made safe as to his health conditions at a small expense. When the great valleys of the Amazon and of the Congo are occupied by a white population more food will be produced in these regions than is now produced in all the rest of the inhabited world.”^s

Less sensational but still magnificent progress has been achieved elsewhere, as in Calcutta. In the early part of last century residence there for six months in Fort William was said to be more dangerous than two Waterloo campaigns. Yet Calcutta, in spite of great natural disabilities, is now the most healthy of the great cities of India. The death-rate at Fort William was doubtless due to that lack of common sense in the management of troops which cost so many of them their lives. The Romans were clearly masters of hygiene, and their army accordingly enjoyed good health in India as elsewhere. According to Sir Ranald Martin, the treatment of the British troops there rendered a high death-rate inevitable. “Were I to relate but a tithe

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of the miseries, sickness, and death described by old officers in India, as resulting from powdered and tallowed heads and queues, polished close helmets, and heat-absorbing heavy black caps, black leather heat-absorbing stocks, heavy tight woollen coats and trousers, leather breeches and jack-boots, all worn formerly by our horse and foot-soldiers, under the sun of Bengal, and in the hot and rainy seasons, I should not be credited" (Martin, 1861, p. 211). "The barrack life of the British soldier in India, imprisoned as he is by the sun—what a world of wretchedness and misery, moral and physical, does that term bring to the memories of all who have witnessed it in our tropical possessions!" (Martin, *ibid.*, p. 257.) Improvement in the conditions of life has lowered the death-rate; but the tragedies due to former mismanagement still prejudice the reputation of the Indian climate.

EXPERIENCE IN TROPICAL AUSTRALIA

Medical opinion at first agreed with the traditional belief that the tropics were unsuited to the white race, but scientific investigation has led to the widespread adoption of the opposite conclusion. The question has been especially carefully considered in regard to Queensland in the light of the experience of its white residents. The views of the two opposing schools are sometimes violently expressed. On the one hand writers like Mr. R. W. Hornabrook, in a paper entitled "The White Australia Fanatic" (1922, p. 366), declares that "we are not going to make a White Australia in the tropics and never will; the whole thing is twaddle and political camouflage and against nature." On the other hand, a Queensland medical authority, Dr. Humphrey of Townsville, maintains that anybody who says that the white race "will not thrive in tropical Australia to my mind is talking rot." (Report of Sub-Committee of Australian Medical Congress, Brisbane, 1920, p. 2.) As the verdict of a leading Australian medical authority may be quoted that of Sir J. W. Barrett (1922,

p. 681), who reports that "at the Australian Medical Congress held at Brisbane in 1920, a prolonged discussion took place on the possibility of settlement of Tropical Australia with white people, and though there was some divergence of opinion, nothing could have been made clearer than the fact that the most rigorous scientific investigation in Tropical Queensland had failed to show any organic changes in the white residents, which enabled them to be distinguished from residents of temperate climates."

The question has been carefully investigated by a Committee appointed by the Australian Medical Congress in 1914. Its report was issued in 1920. It sent out a questionnaire to all the medical practitioners and officials in tropical Australia, Papua, and Fiji; and it states (p. 1) that "Analysis of the returns received showed a markedly favourable opinion on the suitability, climatic and topographical, of North Queensland, for successful implantation of a working white race." The report quoted the results of the medical inspections for the Citizen Army of Australia; and it states that "they display for the years reviewed a substantially smaller proportion of rejections for Tropical Queensland, as compared with non-Tropical Queensland, and for the two years 1918 and 1919 the proportions of rejections was less than the average for all Australian Military Districts outside Queensland." They quote again the observations of Drs. Breinl and Priestly that "the red corpuscles and hæmoglobin contents of the blood of Northern children were not different from those in temperate climates." The Committee summarized the practical results from its enquiries as follows: "After mature consideration of these and other sources of information embodying the results of long and varied professional experience and observation in the Australian Tropics, the Sub-Committee is unable to find anything pointing to the existence of inherent or insuperable obstacles in the way of the permanent occupation of Tropical Australia by a

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healthy indigenous white race. They consider that the whole question of successful development and settlement of Tropical Australia by white races is fundamentally a question of applied public health in the modern sense. . . . They consider that the absence of semi-civilized coloured peoples in Northern Australia simplifies the problem very greatly."

This verdict is the most authoritative recent expression of expert opinion on the question of the white settlement in the tropics, and it is in accordance with the balance of medical testimony from most tropical regions.

This medical opinion has been supported for Queensland by that of the Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry, which reported (Parl. Commonwealth, 1920, No. 9, F. 5618, p. li) that "the white population adapts itself to the tropical climate with success. . . . Medical testimony is to the effect that the over-free use of alcohol is still a more serious menace than all the tropical diseases."

The statistical evidence of the effect of tropical climate does not reveal any deterioration in the physique of the Queensland people. There are no easily accessible statistics dealing with the tropical part of Queensland alone; but as most of that State is within the tropics any marked deterioration in the tropical population would be indicated in a comparison of the statistics of Queensland with those of the rest of Australia. The part of the State outside the tropics is moreover sub-tropical, its highest latitude being only 29° S. In the years 1915-21, according to the statistics in the "Australian Year-Book" (No 15, 1922, p. 99), the death-rate in Queensland was the lowest of the six States of Australia (excluding the Federal and Northern Territories) in one year; it was the fourth out of the six States in three years; it was the fifth in three; and in not one of them had it the highest death-rate. In the last year recorded, 1921, the crude death-rate per 1,000 (p. 99) was :—

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Queensland	9·3
New South Wales	9·5
Australia as a whole	9·9
South Australia	10·0
Tasmania	10·3
West Australia	10·4
Victoria	10·5
England and Wales	12·1
European Russia	28·9
Ceylon	29·6

The infantile death-rate is exceptionally low in Queensland. The rate was the lowest of all the Australian States in three of the years 1915-21; it was second lowest in two years, and third in one year and was highest only in one year. The "index of mortality," which states the death-rate in proportion to the ages of the community, also bears testimony to the healthiness of Queensland, which in 1921 was the second state in order of low mortality, and was then only ·03 below that of the most favoured state, New South Wales, which had an index of 12·27 against that of 12·30 for Queensland.

The low death-rate of Queensland is due in part to the less liability of the population to tuberculosis, of which Queensland has the lowest percentage in Australia. In 1921 514 of each 10,000 deaths in Queensland were due to tuberculosis ("Australian Year-Book," No. 15, 1922, p. 129); New South Wales, which was next in order, had 631 deaths per 10,000; and the Commonwealth 682 per 10,000. The efficiency of the Queenslanders in sport has often been remarked; their athletic capacity is decidedly above the average for Australia. This fact is noteworthy from its bearing on the question of the rise of body temperature in the tropics. Experimental tests have shown that under humid tropical conditions the body temperature rises more rapidly after violent exercise than in temperate

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countries; the success of the Queenslander in athletics shows that in practice men in good health are not handicapped by the rise of temperature, for the body is soon acclimatized to new conditions.⁹

Prolonged over-exertion is naturally more trying in a hot than in a cool climate; and the conclusion that men engaged in hard manual labour in the tropics should not undertake more than eight hours work a day is eminently reasonable.

The healthiness of the residents in Tropical Queensland is the more remarkable as the smaller houses in the coast towns are often ill-adapted to the conditions. As I remarked in 1910 (p. 378) some of them are low wooden houses, with small windows, no verandahs, and corrugated iron roofs. They should, on the contrary, be light and airy, have wide verandahs, and double roofs, one layer of which should be of a material impermeable to heat. Sir J. W. Barrett, in a discussion of the white settlement of the tropics (1918, Vol. II, pp. 280-91), has referred to the unsuitability of many of the Queensland houses for tropical conditions.

The conclusion that the white man can settle in the tropics is confronted by the firm conviction of many authorities that the residence there of people reared in a temperate climate inevitably involves their degeneration. This view has been expressed, for example, by Prof. L. W. Lyde of London University, who predicts that owing to the effects of tropical climate ("United Empire," Vol. III, 1912, pp. 789-893) the descendants of white settlers in the tropics would acquire a dark skin and a bridgeless open nose, and become a degenerate coloured race. No doubt bare skin exposed to strong sunshine is darkened; but this change can be prevented by the use of clothes. There is a more general tendency for primitive races to adopt European dress, owing to its practical convenience as a working costume, than for Europeans to abandon it. Only those white people who went nude in the tropics would acquire a black skin. Even if the glare of the sun-

light, by causing a recession of the eyes, which is already noticeable in Australians who have been brought up on the shadeless plains of the interior, should depress the bridge of the nose, that change would not be fatal to civilization.

The claim that the Europeans necessarily degenerate in the tropics is one that can fortunately be tested by widespread experience. In the tropical states of South America, though the proportion of people of pure Spanish blood is relatively small, the number is actually considerable; yet the distinguished botanist, Spruce, in a letter which is approvingly quoted by another authority in South America—Alfred Russel Wallace—declares that even on the equator in Ecuador Spanish families have lived for centuries and show no sign of degeneration. (Wallace, 1910, p. 118). In the West Indies there are numerous cases of European colonies which have kept pure in blood and have survived. In some islands the prevalence of hookworm has led to marked debility in some of the native-born white residents; but in other West Indian islands the Europeans have a good physique. Thus in Cuba, Guiteras (1913, quoted by Balfour, 1923, p. 1331) has shown that the white Cubans are increasing in numbers faster and are physically doing better than the coloured population.

The small island of Saba, which was settled in 1644, had in 1911 a white population of 2,387. According to Hintze ("Tropical Diseases Bulletin," Vol. XV, 1920, p. 296): "The purity of the race has never been contested. The people are mainly farmers and sailors. The women are said to be the handsomest in the West Indies and are distinguished by their slimness and healthy appearance. There are said to be no signs of degeneration."

Hintze also quotes the case of the German colony of Espirito Santo on the tropical coast of Brazil (lat. 20° S.). It was founded by thirty-eight Rhenish families in 1847; they were joined ten years later by 1,000 Germans and Dutch. The colony now consists of 17,000 to 18,000 people and is described as flourishing. Another German colony,

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Santa Katherina, is situated farther south on a low-lying part of the coast, just outside the tropics. It has a hot, damp, and essentially tropical climate, with a mean temperature for the hot months of 77° F., a 6½ foot rainfall, and the country includes wide lagoons with swamps and flooding rivers. The population includes 85,000 Germans, most of whom belong to the second and third generation; and the colonists are said to enjoy good health other than from the effects of hookworm. Gofferjé reports ("Tropical Diseases Bull.," Vol. XV, 1920, p. 285) that "the health conditions of the natives are less favourable than those of the settlers."

A long-established European tropical settlement exists in the Dutch colony of Kissa (or Kiser, Kisar, etc.), an islet off the coast of Timor in the Eastern Archipelago. General attention to it was first directed by Prof. J. Macmillan Brown of Christchurch, New Zealand, in his book "The Dutch East," 1914 (pp. 211-20). There are two different versions of the history of this colony. According to Prof. Brown and some Dutch authorities the colony has survived there since 1665. According to Dr. Elkington (1922) the existing families were derived from Dutch who settled on the island between 1783 and 1819. The date of the establishment of these families is unfortunately somewhat uncertain. Dr. Elkington is emphatic that the exhaustive local enquiries of the Dutch administration show that the founders of the nine families settled in Kissa between 1783 and 1819, and as his is the latest investigation his conclusion carries great weight. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the information collected by the missionary Rinnooij, who probably had longer personal acquaintance with these people and heard their family stories forty years earlier and before the destruction of their family Bibles by the storm in 1908, attributes their origin to 1665. Baron van Hoevell—who during his Governorship of Amboyna in the 'eighties was especially interested in the community, improved its position, and arranged for its education—also had excellent opportunities of knowing their history, and he described

them as having been in 1819 a community of creoles. That statement implies that they were then well established, so that very few of the founders of these families could have arrived on the island shortly before 1819. Dr. Elkington remarks that the Dutch had had a garrison of soldiers and officials on Kissa for over 100 years before 1819. Hence, considering the evidence of the Dutch authorities of the 'eighties, it is probable that some of the creole families of 1819 were the descendants of men who were members of the garrison before 1783.

According to the version accepted by Prof. Macmillan Brown, eight Dutch soldiers with their wives were landed on the island in 1665 to hold it against the Portuguese. They were forgotten, but built themselves houses, planted crops, and held the position. Their descendants, blue eyed and fair haired, now number over 300. The colony had two disadvantages: it was maintained by inbreeding, and the locality is not especially healthy. Kissa Island, according to the Admiralty "Eastern Archipelago Pilot," Pt. III (2nd ed., 1921, pp. 196-7), is small, rocky, hilly; it is seven miles long by five miles broad, and its highest point is 787 feet. Drinking-water is very scarce in the dry season, and a great part has no wood. Sometimes the season is very dry, as in the year 1885 "not a drop of rain fell, so that all the crops failed"; "the climate is described as very unhealthy and fevers are prevalent from September to March."

Attention was called to this colony by A. B. Meyer in 1883 ("Pet. Mitteilungen," 1883, pp. 334-5, 466-7). He quoted the evidence then available. According to it the island was occupied by the Portuguese from September, 1664 till March, 1665. To prevent their return some Dutch soldiers were sent there later in 1665 to build a fort and hold the island. According to the missionary Rinnooij the present community in Kissa are the descendants of these Dutch soldiers; in 1883 they numbered 350 and were called "Mestizen," i.e. half-castes. He described them as living

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under native conditions, and practising polygamy, some of them having two or three wives, and as being ignorant alike of Dutch or Malay. He says that they had blue and brown eyes, a clear skin, and fair hair. Meyer concluded from Rinnooij's account that it was incorrect to speak of the colonists as Europeans because, though they were descended from European fathers, their original ancestors were daughters of the land. The blue eye of the Teuton is very easily lost by interbreeding with a dark race, and Rinnooij's statement that all the ancestral women were Malay is inconsistent with the tradition that the soldier settlers, in accordance with Dutch custom, were accompanied by their wives.

Baron van Hoevell, in 1890, gave an account of the colony, for the following translation of which I am indebted to my daughter, Miss U. J. Gregory.

"These descendants of the times of the East India Company, dress, both men and women, in European fashion, and woo with most particular rectitude. Only a few of them mix with the women of the country, and they always marry among themselves. They bear completely European names, such as Schilling, Woudhuizen, Joostensz, Visser, Lander, Speelman, Van Hasselt, Bakker, etc., and they are also mostly fair with blue eyes and fair hair.

"Especially at a school inspection the children appear truly European. After the occupation of Kisar was given up in 1819, those creoles who wished to stay there were left entirely to their fate. In consequence the Malay language came into use, Dutch was forgotten, also Christianity went out and many heathen customs accepted. Now that ministers and schoolmasters have again been placed in the neighbouring village of Wonreli, the children are again profiting by the instruction given there, so that they will be raised from their present despicable state.

"It is true that most of them are no longer in possession of papers to show their European extraction, and they were never given the opportunity to retain their civil status ;

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but it is certainly unjust for people who are fair as the author of this memoir and so are of indisputable European nationality, to be treated as equal to natives by the native tribunals. For a few years they were under the rule of the Raja of Kisar. Now, however, they have withdrawn from the rule of this native and have their own mayor, so that they are brought more into the position of Amboyna burghers.

“ They are now 281 souls strong, and although they have always intermarried, and so new blood has seldom been introduced, there is still absolutely no reason whatever to suppose they will soon die out. On the contrary, the women are very fruitful. Such a proof of the possibility of uninterrupted propagation of Europeans in the tropics does not trouble Dr. van der Burg, who denies the same, and stoutly asserts that the thriving state of these creoles is to be ascribed to American whalers who often visit these islands. Such mixture is, however, not known at Kisar. In early times the island was once visited by whalers to obtain supplies, but certainly not since 1853 ; it is certainly a doubtful hypothesis, or rather complete fiction, that the ladies of Kota Lama would have favoured these strangers so particularly.

“ The houses of these creoles are somewhat better built than those of the natives. They do not stand on piles, but on the ground with foundations of rock daubed over with clay, and are surrounded by little gardens planted with such fruits as bananas, papaws, red pepper, sugar-cane, and ‘ katjang.’ The women dress in ‘ sarongs ’ and jackets, the men, directly they are able, wear a European costume, the dress of the Amboyna burgher. They are occupied, like the natives, in planting ‘ djagong ’ and ‘ kapas,’ and it is clear proof of their pure European blood that despite this field work in tropical Kisar, where so little shade is to be found, they are still so little darkened. They also plait straw hats and the women weave excellent ‘ kains ’ and ‘ slendangs,’ which they carry to Timor in praus bought

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from the Loenagers, and are there exchanged for European linens and chintzes." (G. W. W. C. Baron van Hoevell, 1890, pp. 215-17.)

The most expert and latest description of the people is by Dr. J. S. C. Elkington (1922, pp. 32-4). He reports that the nine Dutch settlers who founded the present families arrived between 1783 and 1819; that five of them were married to women of pure Dutch blood; the wives of the other four had some native blood. In 1819 all the garrison except these nine families were withdrawn, and the community was forgotten. When it was revisited sixty years later they were found to have lost both the Dutch language and religion. Baron van Hoevell arranged for their relief, and some of them were transferred to Koepang on the island of Timor. At the time of Dr. Elkington's visit in 1921, about 200 were living in Kissa. He describes some of them (*op. cit.*, p. 33) as "flaxen-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed folk." Most of the children were mentally alert. They had been described in 1904 as physically degenerated; but Dr. Elkington saw "no obvious evidence of physical degeneration." One of the nine families was founded by a J. W. Joostensz who was born at Macassar in Celebes in 1767, so that he and his descendants have resided in the tropics without a break for 154 years. Dr. Elkington (*ibid.*, p. 34) lays stress on the facts that this colony has retained its European physical characteristics and mentality, and that "there is nothing in the available history of these people to show that a tropical climate *per se* has tended to produce degenerative effects on them or to limit fertility."

The history of the colony is uncertain in some respects. Prof. Macmillan Brown may be correct in the main, but the colony appears to have incorporated more native blood than he recognized. Rinnooij, on the other hand, probably underestimated the European element; for the statements that the soldiers were accompanied by their wives is consistent with the Dutch practice at that date, and blue eyes, fair hair and blonde complexions would hardly have

survived in the colony if the men had to mate with native women. The dates accepted by Dr. Elkington may under-rate the age of the community. It unquestionably affords a remarkable instance of the long survival of Europeans in the tropics, on a small island only 500 miles from the equator, in spite of specially unfavourable conditions.

CLIMATE AND CIVILIZATION

The view that the temperate regions are the most advantageous as the home of man has been advanced by Prof. Ellsworth Huntington in his "Civilization and Climate." In that work it is claimed that the success of the great centres of wealth and intellectual activity in north-western Europe and north-eastern North America are due to their climate, and to the stimulus and invigoration of buffeting by storms and weather changes. That variations in the weather have a beneficial effect will probably be generally accepted; but violent changes of weather and furious storms also occur in most parts of the tropics. Maps showing the range of annual variations of the weather, as in Bartholomew's "Atlas of Meteorology," 1899, Pl. II, show that, though the tropical regions as a whole have a less range than the temperate and frigid zones, the western part of Great Britain has a lower annual range than parts of tropical Africa and most of tropical Australia. The tropical localities, where the range of temperature throughout the year is very slight are relatively small in area and are situated on the coasts. Ellsworth Huntington, as a specific instance of the mental inertia and demoralization due to the tropical climate, describes the Bahamas. Those islands, however, are now a small backwater of civilization; they were occupied from political circumstances by a population in excess of their present capacities. It is no more surprising that their inhabitants have not increased in wealth and numbers any more than in the Highland glens of Scotland. The intellectual and financial backwardness of the Bahamas is analogous to that of the "mountain whites"

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of Kentucky, who, owing to cramping poverty, have failed to keep up with the general advance of the United States. The main argument of Prof. Huntington's book is that civilization is dependent on a particular combination of climatic factors, and as in former times the centres of civilization were in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the southern Mediterranean, he holds that they must then have had a climate essentially similar to that of the regions where the white populations are now densest. I have, however, previously (1914) discussed the question of recent climatic change, and shown that there has been none of importance within historic times at the classical centres of civilization.

The change in relative importance of the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula is instructive on this question. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as regards culture, scientific achievement, the extent of their colonies, and wealth and commerce, Spain and Portugal were more advanced than the British Isles. There has been no climatic change since then adequate to explain the alteration in the relative positions of Britain and Spain. The change in the political importance of these countries was due to the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, when the use of steam and coal and the production of cheap iron enabled Britain to advance at a pace impossible for Spain. Similarly in America, in the eighteenth century the southern United States were far ahead of the north-eastern states. The development of the American coal and iron fields shifted the centres of population and wealth to areas on, or in easy access to, the eastern coalfields. Coal, not climate, explains the situation of the chief centres of population and industrial activity in modern Europe and the United States.

¹ A dark skin may, it has been suggested, have a cooling effect, by absorbing heat more quickly and thus stimulating perspiration; but this process would detract from the cooling effect of the perspiration, as it would depend on dark skin having become hotter than white skin by its greater absorption of heat.

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² Described in "Phil. Trans. R. Soc.," Vol LXV, 1774, pp. 117-19.

³ The ill-effects on the skin, Col. Tucker's sixth charge against the tropical climate, are not, says Dr. Balfour (1923, p 245), "of much significance."

⁴ The Arneth Index has been referred to as evidence of climatic deterioration in Northern Queensland, but Dr E. M. Sweet (1917, pp 243-4), claims that there is no difference in that respect between tropical and extra-tropical Australia, and that climate has no effect upon that Index

⁵ These cases are quoted by W J Young (1919, p 226), his own observations are cited (*ibid*, pp 229-30) In his earlier paper (1915, p. 100) he remarks that the cases considered "exhibit no marked variations from the averages obtained in temperate climates"

⁶ Prof Griffith Taylor (1924, pp. 454-5) remarks that "it is extremely difficult to detect any physical change as a result of living in the tropics," and considers the chief disability resulting therefrom is "tropical neurasthenia"

⁷ For recent similar experience in Hai-nan, cf p 188

⁸ W C Gorgas, "Boston Med and Surg Journ.," 5th Aug, 1915.

⁹ Prof Ellsworth Huntington ("Amer. Geogr Rev.," Aug, 1920, Queensland Mortality) rejects the argument from the Queenslanders as "picked" individuals The population of the state is now 770,000, and there has been a considerable settlement for 70 years The inhabitants of Queensland, who were carefully picked as regards health, were the Kanakas, and their death-rate lowered the Queensland record.

CHAPTER IX

White Labour in the Queensland Sugar Fields

“None will break ranks, though nations trek from progress
Courage was mine, and I had mystery,
Wisdom was mine, and I had mastery.”

WILFRED OWEN.

1. *THE QUEENSLAND SUGAR PLANTATIONS.*—

It has been shown in Chapter VIII that there is no physiological reason why the white man should not live and work in the tropics, and that medical opinion is becoming steadily stronger in favour of that possibility. In the absence of any simple physiological prohibition past experience in Australia offers the best test of the possibility of white occupation of the tropical part of the continent. The most instructive experiment yet made on the white colonization of the tropics has been in progress during the last twenty-four years on the sugar plantations of Queensland, where the conditions are especially severe and adverse. The Australian sugar-cane plantations are situated in the coastlands of Queensland and of northern New South Wales; but chiefly in parts of Queensland, where the climate is ultra-tropical in character. The Queensland coast extends for seventeen degrees north and south, between lats. $11^{\circ} 40'$ to 29° S. The temperature in such latitudes is naturally high, and it is raised in north-eastern Australia by an ocean current which bathes the coast with water heated during its long slow drift across the equatorial Pacific. The land suitable for sugar cultivation is confined to low-lying alluvial plains, where the atmosphere is often moist and muggy. “Mackay is more or less of a Turkish

bath all the year round," says a pamphlet ("Some Notes on the Town and District of Mackay," published 1905); and a report by the local medical officer in the same year drew a distressing picture of the deterioration of the white residents there owing to the climate. (Gregory, 1910, p. 378.)

The sugar belt of Queensland, has, in fact one of the most severely tropical climates in the world. At Thursday Island the mean temperature is always between 70° and 78° and the humidity varies from about 68 to 85 per cent. According to Dr. Griffith Taylor's Discomfort Scale, the climate for most of the year is "usually uncomfortable" and for part of the year "always uncomfortable." At Townsville in lat. 19° the temperature varies from about 66° to 82° and the humidity from about 64 to 74 per cent. The climate is compared to such places as Calcutta (Griffith Taylor, "Australian Environment as Controlled by Rain-fall, 1918," p. 117) in the combination of high temperature and extreme humidity.

2. *THE EXCLUSION OF THE KANAKAS.*—The enactment by the Pacific Islanders Act of 1901 that the Queensland sugar plantations would have to depend on white labour was therefore generally regarded as their doom. Even with coolie labour the industry was not prosperous. One of the opponents of the anti-Kanaka Bill in the Federal Parliament declared "we all know that the sugar mills are not doing well; the plantations are struggling and are heavily in debt to the financial institutions." ("Federal Hansard First Parliament," p. 5847.) This fact is illustrated by the fall of 12 per cent in the rateable value of the sugar-growing areas of Mackay in the six years, 1895–1900. The exclusion of the Kanakas from Australia was supported on the ground that so struggling and unprofitable a branch of agriculture had better die rather than it should upset the policy of the whole continent.

When the Pacific Islanders Bill was under discussion the Federal Parliament was emphatically warned that its enact-

ment meant the end of the Australian sugar industry. Sir Malcolm McEachern, one of the few Queensland representatives who opposed the Bill, concluded his speech against it by the claim that "I contend that I have proved as far as anyone can prove, from the evidence of the Royal Commission, that it is utterly impossible in Mackay and north of Mackay to carry on this industry without Kanaka labour. I think that I have shown that the industry must die unless there is Kanaka labour." According to the member for Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, the Bill would strangle the only great agricultural industry in the state. The Bishop of Carpentaria declared "All the farmers say the same, 'If we are deprived of coloured labour, as things are at present, we are utterly ruined.'"

The Brisbane Chamber of Commerce proclaimed that the Bill would be immediately disastrous to the sugar industry and to the trade and commerce of Queensland. The Farmers' Association of Mackay passed a resolution that "This Association, consisting principally of small cane farmers, after many attempts during the past ten years to grow sugar entirely with white labour, finds it impossible to do so successfully, because of physical causes. It is distinctly a climatic and not a financial difficulty, and one which money cannot cope with." A Royal Commission upon the Queensland sugar industry in 1889 had reported for the area north of Townsville "there was absolute unanimity amongst all the witnesses examined that white men could not cultivate cane"; it quoted such opinions as "withdrawal of black labour means shutting up the northern districts," and that in those areas for "five months in the year whites cannot work." That Royal Commission reported that if all coloured labour were withdrawn from the plantations the extinction of the sugar industry must speedily follow.

· 3. *THE SUBSEQUENT GROWTH OF THE INDUSTRY.*—The Bill for the expulsion of the South Sea islanders was, however, enacted and the sugar industry left

dependent on white labour. In spite, however, of the confident predictions of ruin the industry has gone on and been more successful than when run by coloured labour. After 1901 the rateable value of Mackay ceased its decline and rose from £642,000 to £684,000 in 1908.

In considering the evidence of statistics as to sugar cultivation it should be remembered that the returns of the industry are necessarily irregular. In some seasons the yield is good, as in the record year, 1917-18, and more land is planted. An unfavourable planting season reduces the area under cultivation and the yields of cane in the second and third years afterwards. Comparisons of single years are unreliable; but the following table shows that the areas in Queensland growing cane and the quantity of sugar produced have increased greatly since the industry has used only white labour.

QUEENSLAND SUGAR PRODUCTION

	<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Cane Tons</i>	<i>Sugar Tons.</i>	
1900-1 . .	108,535	848,328	92,554	
1905-6 . .	134,107	1,415,745	152,259	Last Kanaka labour
1906-7 . .	133,284	1,728,780	184,305	
1907-8 . .	126,810	1,665,028	188,352	
1910-11 . .	141,779	1,840,447	210,756	
1916-17 . .	167,221	1,579,514	176,973	
1917-18 . .	175,762	2,704,211	307,714	
1918-19 . .	160,534	1,674,829	189,978	
1919-20 . .	148,469	1,258,760	162,136	
1920-21 ¹ . .	162,619	1,339,455	167,401	

It should be remembered in reference to that table that the last of the Kanakas were shipped back in 1905-6; so that their deportation did not lead to even any fall in the sugar output.

The difference in the nominal wages of Kanakas and white workers was so great that the fears that the industry could not afford white labour appeared plausible. The

wages of a Kanaka were £3 a year, whereas a white sugar cutter received the same in a week or might earn it in half a week. To the Kanaka wage must, however, be added £13 for food, £7 as the annual share of the immigration fee of £20, the cost of quarters, and medical expenses. The average cost of a Kanaka amounted to from £25 to £30 a year. At the same time the average wage of the white workers in the harvesting season was 25s. 9d. a week, with 10s. a week for food. The harvest season lasts from 10 weeks to 20 weeks, but the canes on any single plantation may be cut in the course of a few weeks. The real comparison is therefore between a Kanaka costing £25 to £30 a year, and a white labourer who then cost 35s. a week for four or six weeks. Some work has to be done on an estate throughout the year ; but except at the harvest the amount of labour required is comparatively small.

That white labour is economical owing to its greater efficiency is shown by the lower price paid by the mills for white-grown cane ; when the labour was mainly coloured between 1902 and 1906 the price was from 14s. 6d. to 16s. 3d. per ton ; in 1906-7, after the Kanakas had left, the price (exclusive of a small charge for cartage), fell to from 11s. 9d. to 12s. a ton. Some of the planters told me, during a visit to Queensland in 1909, that the white labour had proved to be cheaper than Kanaka labour. Others said that the Kanaka labour was slightly cheaper ; but no one claimed that there had been any serious increase in cost due to the higher wages paid to the white workers.

It is sometimes stated that the industry is maintained by coloured labour. Some 1,509 Kanakas, who had made homes in Australia, were allowed to remain, and they grow the small amount of cane raised by coloured labour. With that exception the recent Report of the Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry in Australia (Parliament of the Commonwealth, 1920, No. 9, F. 5618, p. li) states that "coloured labour has now practically disappeared from the industry." The amount produced in New South Wales

and Queensland by coloured labour fell from 67,107 tons in 1902-3 to 16,670 tons in the season 1910-11. The percentage of sugar produced by coloured labour fell between 1902 and 1911 from 68 to 7.3 per cent (Gregory, 1912, p. 188).

The previous table illustrates the great variations to which sugar cultivation is liable. The crop is particularly susceptible to weather conditions. In some years the amount of cane may be large; but its yield of sugar may be small; in the year 1916-17 the climatic conditions were so unfavourable that the yield was greatly reduced and less land was planted with cane. This did not affect the next year, which gave the record crop, but the years 1918-20. Cane does not yield in the year of planting or the year afterwards; its production is in the second and third years, with some later cuttings. Unfavourable conditions at the planting time therefore affect the sugar harvest of two or three years later.

The slow growth of the Queensland industry is in part due to the comparatively limited extent of land which is suitable for sugar cultivation. It can only be undertaken on the plain between the plateau and the sea. This coastal belt is 1,000 miles in length and on an average about 20 miles across; but the land suitable for sugar-cane occurs only at widely spaced intervals. "There are," says the Report of the Royal Commission on Sugar Industry in the Parliament of Australia (1910, No. 9, F. 5618, p. 10), "no extensive compact areas of rich agricultural land suitable for sugar cultivation on a large scale. The various centres of production are separated by long distances." The sugar plantations accordingly have the disadvantage that the sugar has to be treated at 40 scattered mills, and the work cannot be done as economically as if concentrated in a few places. The severity of competition with countries like Fiji and Java, which, quite apart from their large labour supply, are better adapted for sugar cultivation, renders the growth of sugar for export economically

impracticable. The utmost Australia can hope to achieve is to raise its own supply. It cannot as a rule compete in the world's markets with countries better adapted for sugar production. In the days of the Kanaka labour Australia only raised a small part of its sugar requirements. By white labour Australia produces most of its own sugar and has sometimes produced an excess.

4. *THE SUGAR BOUNTY AND PROTECTIVE TARIFF.*—It has often been urged that the survival of the industry has been only due to a high protective policy imposed regardless of the interests of other Australian industries. This view has been supported by reference to the "bounty" paid from 1901-13 on sugar grown by white labour. That bounty was not, however, drawn from the ordinary Australian revenue, but was simply a refund to the sugar producers of an excise duty which they had themselves paid. In order to prevent sugar plantations which engaged white labour being undercut by those that employed the Kanakas who had settled in Queensland, an excise duty was imposed on all sugar grown in Australia. This amount was refunded to plantations in which the sugar was grown by white labour. The sugar bounty was therefore not a tax on other Australian industries; it was a burden on the sugar industry, as it involved a complex system of payments and accounts. This system was abolished by legislation in 1912 and 1913, when there was no longer any fear of competition with the Kanaka-grown sugar.

Since then the industry has had the advantage of a protective tariff of £6 a ton on imported sugar; this tax, it is said, has seriously hampered the Australian fruit growers and jam manufacturers. The case against this import duty rests on the usual arguments for free trade. As Australia has adopted a comprehensive system of protection there would seem no reason why one of the leading industries of Queensland should not share in the benefits of the system, as it is hampered by the higher price it has to

pay for all the imported goods it needs. If the manufacturing districts of south-eastern Australia are helped by protection they seem to have no legitimate complaint against similar help being given to Queensland.

The complaint that the sugar import duty has hampered the industries which require cheap imports appears to rest in this case on an unusually weak foundation. The Australian sugar industry is under Government control, which prevents profiteering and the raising of the local price of sugar to the amount that could be secured in the open market. For instance, in February, 1920, the price of raw Java sugar was £57, or allowing for the cost of refining, £63 12s. 9d. per ton. Nevertheless, sugar was at that time being sold to the shops in Australia for £28 12s. 10d. per ton; the retail price which they were allowed to charge was 3½d. a lb., or £32 13s. 4d. a ton; whereas, if the Australian sugar could have been sold abroad, the Australian consumer would have had to pay 8d. per lb. (*op. cit.*). At that date the retail price of sugar per pound was in the United Kingdom 7d., in France 7¾d., in Canada 6¼d., and in the United States 5d. This system of sugar control and its local production gave the Australian consumer the benefit of the cheapest sugar in the world.

No doubt, however, the import tariff will, as a general rule, increase the price of sugar in Australia; but that is one of the usual consequences of protection. The local production of sugar protects the Australian consumer from profiteering by the foreign sugar producer or importer; and so long as Australia hampers the Queensland sugar industry by a high tariff on imported machinery, there seems no reason why it should not receive an equivalent assistance by a tariff on imported raw sugar.

5. *THE RESULT OF THE WHITE LABOUR POLICY*.—The Australian adoption of White Labour for its sugar plantations has been the greatest contribution yet made to practical solution of the problem whether the white man can do agricultural work in the tropics. The development

of the plantations during the past twenty-four years shows that white labour can be employed successfully in such an ultra-tropical industry as sugar cultivation in even the ultra-tropical climate of the Queensland coastlands, provided the workers are protected from infectious disease and from the competition of people with lower standards of life.

¹ The sugar yield for 1922 is reported as 288,000 tons. I gave an account of the progress up to 1908 of white labour on the plantations after a visit to four of the chief sugar-producing districts in the "Nineteenth Century," Feb., 1910, pp. 368-80, and in "Proc. R. Phil. Soc., Glasgow," Vol. XLIII, 1912, pp. 182-94.

CHAPTER X

Miscegenation and the Result of Racial Interbreeding

“Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives?”

NEHEMIAH xiii. 27.

1. *INTERBREEDING AS A MEANS OF RACIAL IMPROVEMENT.*—The result of the occupation of an area by two different races depends mainly on the effect of the interbreeding, which is then to some extent inevitable. The study of the biological principles which bear on interbreeding between different human races and the observation of existing cases of racial intermixture have led to two conflicting schools, between which there is at present no prospect of agreement. According to some authorities the interracial difficulties of the world will be solved by the development of mixed breeds, and the removal of racial friction by intermarriage will ultimately lead to the peaceful occupation of the whole world by one composite race. Interbreeding is claimed by the supporters of this view to produce offspring superior to either of the parents, and to be therefore physically and politically advantageous. This favourable view of interbreeding is supported by the fact that practically all the leading nations of the world are of mixed parentage. The high qualities which have given them their special success and leadership are doubtless, in part at least, due to the blending of characteristics collected from their different lines of ancestry. The beneficent effect of racial interbreeding is asserted as a general principle, amongst others, by Lord Olivier, the late Secretary of State for India, who had the opportunity for close personal

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study of the problem during his service as Chief Secretary (1899-1904), and subsequently as Governor of Jamaica (1907-1913). According to Lord Olivier (1906, p. 22), "so far then as there survives in a mixed race the racial body of each of its parents, so far it is a superior human being, or rather, I would say, potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity." Professor Earl Finch of the Wilberforce University in Ohio ("Interracial Problems," 1911, p. 108), also holds that "race blending, especially in the rare instances when it occurs under favourable circumstances, produces a type superior in fertility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stock." He recognizes that "while race blending is not everywhere desirable, yet the crossing of distinct races, especially when it occurs with social sanction, often produces a superior type." Even when there be no claim that the hybrid race is superior to its neighbours it may be politically useful. The half-caste races serve as a link between the members of different races who may be living in a country, and as intermediaries between governing and subject races. The "Cape Boys," who are the offspring of South African and West African Negroes and various Asiatics and have a slight intermixture of European blood, have often been of great service. At times of war and rebellion they provided cheap labour which was locally suited to the conditions, and they were attached to the European cause by their distinctness from the ordinary South African native. The mulattoes in the West Indies are also claimed as having been very helpful in a community where the bulk of the population consists of Negroes living in political tutelage under a small white aristocracy.

The policy of complete miscegenation by association in all departments of life and free intermarriage is the ideal of some thinkers who consider that race is a thing accursed, and should be sternly ignored. Race prejudice is regarded by some observers as, of all agencies, the most mischievous to the progress of mankind. Mr. H. G. Wells, for example,

has emphatically declared: "I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than Race Prejudice; none at all, I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty, and abomination than any other sort of error in the world." Those who thus abhor race prejudice naturally look with approval on race intermarriage as the most hopeful method of securing interracial goodwill. Mr. Wells (1906, p. 273), in an account of an interview with Booker Washington, emphatically repudiates the possibility or desirability of the "intermingled distinctness" (cf. pp. 89–93). He says, "Racial differences seem to me always to exasperate intercourse unless people have been elaborately trained to ignore them. Uneducated men are as bad as cattle in persecuting all that is different among themselves. The most miserable and disorderly countries of the world are the countries where two races, two inadequate cultures, keep a jarring, continuous separation."

The desirability of race intermixture is accepted by those who trust that the difficulties in the United States will be overcome by the happy intermarriage of the Negro and the white American citizen. A more competent vehicle of humanity, it is thought, would be secured by a race which combined the originality and practical instincts of the European with the emotional sensibility of the Negro. It is held that a higher race can best influence its more primitive neighbours by intermarriage, and the medium of a hybrid community. The advocates of slavery urged in extenuation of the system that the civilization of Africa would be ultimately achieved by Negroes educated in the plantations of America and the West Indies. That hope has been sadly disappointed. The intermixtures which have been beneficial to the progress of mankind have been between nearly related nations: the hybrids between people in very different grades of culture, such as the "Cape Boys," though they have been very useful in subordinate

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services, are rather a warning than an encouragement to the miscegenation of distinct races.

2. *OBJECTIONS TO MISCEGENATION*—The merging of races is regarded with abhorrence by some European nations. Mr. William Archer (1910, pp. 10-11) emphatically declares, regarding race mixture, "I don't believe that this is a true ideal of progress." The objection to intermarriage of white and coloured persons is apparently most strongly developed in the Teutonic race—British, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian. It is far less marked among the French and South Europeans.

The Teutonic objection is due partly to an instinctive aversion to the mating of white women with coloured men, and especially with Negroes. The aversion to marriage with people of a different colour is not limited to the whites. Mixed intercourse is regarded with even more intense repulsion by some of the higher classes of Indians, who regard every half-caste as an insult to their national pride, and who feel intermarriage or intercourse between Indian women and European men as the most galling product of the British occupation of India.

The general dislike of miscegenation is expressed by the contempt in the term "mongrel,"¹ and by the widespread belief that hybrids are inferior to both parents. Biological support to this view is based on the principle that where two nearly related races are associated interbreeding eliminates the deleterious factors from the offspring. According to this view interbreeding leads inevitably to the improvement of the race. Where, however, two widely distinct races are in contact the inferior qualities are not bred out, but may be emphasised in the progeny. The application of this principle to the human race is not yet definitely established, but it is widely expressed in modern eugenic literature.

Dr. J. A. Mjoen of the Winderen Laboratory, Norway, who, according to Major Darwin, has made a long study of these questions and is "an authority well worth consider-

ing," in "Race and State" (Second International Congress of Eugenics, New York, 1921, Baltimore, 1923, pp. 41-61), records the result of a special study of the hybrids between the Lapps, who are Mongolians, and the Scandinavians, who are perhaps the purest bred of the Teutonic race. Dr. Mjoen holds that the hybrid offspring are inferior to either of their parents. They are often mentally and physically unsound; they are more liable to be a burden on the State, both from moral and physical infirmity; they are far more subject to tuberculosis. He urges (*ibid.*, p. 60) that "until we have more definite knowledge of the effect of race crossings we shall certainly do best to avoid crossings between widely different races." "Crossings," he repeats, "between widely different races can lower the physiological and mental level." This view is also asserted by Prof. H. Lundborg (1922, pp. 41-43), who condemns hasty race mixture between nations who, from a race-biological point of view, stand too far apart; and he urges (*ibid.*, p. 43), "We must also pay great attention to immigration so that inferior individuals belonging to foreign races cannot enter the country and settle without any hindrance. A mixture between nations who, from a race-biological point of view, stand high and others containing lower race-elements, such as gipsies, Galicians, certain Russian tribes, etc., is certainly to be condemned."

Dr. Mjoen fully recognizes that the evidence is not yet conclusive; but he holds that there is sufficient to call for immediate action against the intermarriage of widely distinct races.

The great American geologist, E. D. Cope, from a study of American Negro hybrids, adopted the same conclusion. He insisted that the mulatto is inferior to both parents; and it was largely on that ground that he urged the deportation of all the Negroes from the United States to prevent the ruin of the white race in the southern districts. In this view he was supported by the observation of Elwang (1904, p. 54), who holds that "hybrids of widely differen-

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tiated races always exhibit the stigmata of physical, mental, and moral deterioration, and the results are already plainly noticeable in Columbia, where the 'hybrids' and *their descendants* are an ever-accumulating quantity of morbidity."

The inferiority of the American Negro-White hybrid has also been asserted by Prof. N. S. Shaler (1904, pp. 161-2), a man whose scientific views were marked by sound judgment. "It is not only a general belief that hybrids of blacks and whites are less prolific and more liable to diseases than the pure bloods of either stock, but also that they seldom live so long. Statistics lacking in this point, I have questioned a large number of physicians well placed for judgment in this matter. All of them agree that the offspring of a union between pure black and white parents is, on the average, much shorter lived and much less fertile than the race of either parent. My father, a physician of experience and a critical observer, who had spent more than half a century in Cuba and the slave-holding South, stated that in his opinion he had never seen mulattoes, that is a cross between white and pure black, who had attained the age of 60 years, and that they were often sterile. The judgment of medical men seems to be that when the blood of either race preponderates, and in proportion as it verges to one or the other, the longevity and fertility increase or decrease."

The view of the inferiority of hybrids which was long ago advocated by Emile Gaboriau and Gustav Le Bon in France (e.g. 1888, p. 156), has been recently advocated from American evidence by Mr. F. L. Hoffman of the Prudential Insurance Company of America. He reasserts (1923, p. 175) his conviction (stated in 1896) that the people of mixed race in the United States are physically inferior to either the pure white or black; this inferiority, he says, is shown in their weaker vitality and less resistance to disease, and he declares also (p. 175) that "morally, the mulatto cannot be said to be the superior of the pure black."

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The United States afford an instance of miscegenation on a great scale, as of the eleven or twelve million Negroes 30 per cent are of mixed blood. The effect of the mixed origin on the children is, however, quite uncertain. The interpretation of this evidence is difficult, owing to inter-racial bitterness leading to exaggerated assertions on both sides. No doubt in some cases, such as those described in the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, where 200 cases of marriage of western women with Negroes have been investigated by Prof. A. E. Jenks (cf. Hoffman, 1923, pp. 176-85), the results are said to be deplorable, for the white women were of a low type and after marriage were social outcasts from both races. Their white neighbours boycotted them from objection to racial intermarriage; the Negro women did the same on the ground that in a city where their men were in excess each of these unions condemned one of them to single life. Under better circumstances the children of mixed marriages have given the Negro race some of the ablest and most distinguished leaders. Booker Washington, Frederick Douglass, and Burghart Du Bois are each of mixed blood. There is unquestionably much evidence in support of the view that the hybrids in the United States are intellectually abler than the Negroes. The frequently adopted explanation that the genius of such men as Booker Washington and Du Bois comes from their white ancestry, implies that the hybrid should be superior to its inferior parent.

An impartial judgment of the character of the hybrid people in the United States is difficult or impracticable, owing to the exaggerated assertions by enthusiasts on both sides.

Condemnation of racial intermarriage is most severe in such countries as the United States and South Africa,² where extensive intermixture would be fatal to the accepted policy of social separation. The feeling against intermarriage is so strong in the United States that they have

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been made illegal in most of the states, and the objection appears to be increasing in intensity.

Maurice Evans (1915, p. 275), in his discussion of the race problem in the United States, held that neither there nor in South Africa should race admixture be tolerated, and he represented illicit miscegenation as the greatest danger to the white race. He repeated in his work on South Africa (1916, p. 310) that the preservation of race integrity is the only hope for South Africa, since intermarriage would produce race deterioration. Maurice Evans and E. J. C. Stevens—also a South African—both denounce racial intermixture as race treason.

The evidence afforded by the present political and social conditions of tropical South America is more weighty as it can be considered with greater detachment. Those states are occupied by a race of mixed Spanish-Portuguese-Negro-American Indian parentage; and their relative backwardness may be regarded as a warning against universal panmixture. The present position of the interracial marriage problem has been authoritatively stated by Major Leonard Darwin, President of the Eugenics Education Society, in a letter to the Dominion Premiers on the occasion of the Imperial Conference in London in 1923. He urges the necessity for wider eugenic enquiry since, amongst other considerations, "theoretical reasons can be adduced for believing that interbreeding between widely divergent races may result in the production of types inferior to both parent stocks; and that this would be the result of miscegenation is at all events a common belief." Major Darwin's statement shows that in the opinion of one of the leading living authorities on the subject there is a basis for the view that miscegenation between widely distinct races produces as a rule an inferior offspring, and that the occurrence of distinguished exceptions does not disprove the rule.

An early and remarkable statement of the case against the intermarriage of alien races was made by Herbert Spencer

in 1892, in a letter sent to Kentaro Kaneko for submission to Count Ito, who had been recently appointed Premier of Japan.

"To your remaining question, respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese, which you say is 'now very much agitated among our scholars and politicians,' and which you say is 'one of the most difficult problems,' my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. It should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is invariably a bad one* in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based upon numerous facts derived from numerous sources. This conviction I have within the last half-hour verified, for I happen to be staying in the country with a gentleman who is well-known as an authority on horses, cattle, and sheep, and knows much respecting their interbreeding; and he has just, on inquiry, fully confirmed my belief that when, say of different varieties of sheep, there is an interbreeding of *those which are widely unlike*, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one—there arises an incalculable mixture of traits, and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing happens among human beings—the Eurasians in India, and the half-breeds in America, show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own special adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a

constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.

“I have for the reasons indicated entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restraining the Chinese immigration, and had I the power would restrict them to the smallest possible amount, my reasons for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remain unmixed form a subject race in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching to slaves ; or if they mix they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise, and eventually social disorganization. The same thing will happen if there should be any considerable mixture of the European or American races with the Japanese.

“You see, therefore, that my advice is strongly conservative in all directions, and I end by saying as I began—*keep other races at arm's length as much as possible.*”

This letter was sent to Japan with the request that it should not be published during Herbert Spencer's lifetime. After his death it was communicated to “The Times,” in which it appeared on 18th January, 1904, with a denunciation by the editor as reactionary and mischievous. It has been republished in Duncan's “Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer,” 1908, pp. 322–3. If Herbert Spencer meant that the intermingling of Japanese and European blood should be discouraged, he was advancing a proposition now recommended by leading eugenicists in Britain and abroad. His letter was simply before its time.

Though the doctrine of the inferiority of hybrids has not been established as a biological principle, and there is much evidence against it, it may be especially applicable to the human family, owing to the social and educational handicaps

on the offspring of very different parents. If miscegenation between the primary races is undesirable, the co-residence of different races should be avoided in the interest of the future of mankind.

¹ The term mongrel is usually restricted to the offspring of different varieties, and hybrid to that of distinct species, or of different primary divisions of mankind

² The intensity of South African feeling may be judged by Sarah G. Millin's recent study, "God's Step-Children" London, 1924.

CHAPTER XII

Summary of Conclusions

“ There is one creed, and only one,
That glorifies God’s excellence ,
So cherish, that His will be done,
The common creed of common sense.

.
Let us, the Children of the Night,
Put off the cloak that hides the scar !
Let us be Children of the Light,
And tell the ages what we are ! ”

EDWIN A. ROBINSON (born in Maine, U.S.A., 1869).

“ Finally, I believe in Patience—patience with the weakness of the Weak and the strength of the Strong, the prejudice of the Ignorant, and the ignorance of the Blind ; patience with the tardy triumph of Joy and the mad chastening of Sorrow :—patience with God ”

W. E. B. DU BOIS. 1920.

THE survey of the relations of the white and coloured races in the previous chapters deal with some interracial problems that are now especially acute and press for settlement. The prestige that enabled the white man during the past two centuries to gain political supremacy over most of the habitable lands of the earth has been gradually undermined by closer contact, and no longer assures a few Europeans easy dominion over a nation of coloured men. New relations between the races are being developed and they are different in each of the continents. In North America the fundamental problem is the future of its twelve million Negroes ; and the outlook justifies Booker Washington’s prediction (1899, p. 38) that the problem is not so much “ what the white man will do with the Negro as what the

Negro will do with the white man and his civilization.”; for it appears probable that the Negro will determine the main constitutional development of the United States. In South America the future rests with a composite Iberian-Indian-Negro race in which, if we were to adopt the view of Prof. Griffith Taylor (1924, p. 481),¹ that the Mediterranean section of the European race is a lower type than the Mongolian, the European element in South America would have been upraised by admixture of the Indian. The European race may hold the southern part of the continent and a few colonies farther north, but it has no chance of permanence in most of South America.

In Asia the white man may long retain his usefulness as a merchant in organizing trade, as an expert in the development of communications and natural resources, and as an administrator in various departments of government; but his political autocracy in India is clearly doomed, owing to his success in endowing a sub-continent that had been impoverished and depopulated by internal war, brigandage and famine with national unity in spite of its diversity in race, language, and religion.² The pacification and education of India is perhaps the greatest single political achievement of the British race, and if its success now leads to a reduction in our responsibility for India that result should be regarded with pride rather than regret. We should accept the change with the pleasure of a parent at the independence of a competent son, and not with the irritation of a nurse at a fractious infant.

In Africa the ultimate supremacy of the Negro over most of the continent appears inevitable; and the retention of the political authority of the white man in the Union of South Africa appears to depend on the establishment of some system of segregation by which the white artisan may be secured comfortable conditions of life.

In Australia the main interracial problem is whether the whole continent can be developed by the white race, or whether the help of coloured labour is essential. The intro-

duction of the Asiatic is recommended from two points of view ; some consider that with his aid the waste spaces of the north and interior could be peopled and utilized. According to another view, presented in the recent address by Prof. Griffith Taylor to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science (1923), the deserts are and will remain useless, but he urges that the Asiatic should be introduced to the settled districts on the ground that he is a higher type of man and more efficient worker than the European, who would be improved by intermarriage with the Mongolian.

The interbreeding of animals and plants that are nearly akin often produces superior offspring. Prof. Griffith Taylor (1924, p. 486) extends the principle of the beneficial effect of the mating between stocks that are nearly related by blood to peoples of "similar ethnic status"; and as he regards the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians as "of at least our own ethnic status," he believes (*ibid.*, p. 481) that an infusion of Chinese blood would improve the Australian race. He states (1924, pp. 476, 480) that "the Alpine Mongolian group is the central and presumably latest developed of the three major groups of mankind," and "we are confronted by a growing belief that the Chinese, and perhaps the Japanese, are our superiors." This view he says "is one which I hold strongly." He describes the marriages of the Chinese with Australians as successful and happy, and their offspring as "healthier and better cared for than the white children in the same environment with similar white mothers."

Prof. Griffith Taylor's classification of the human races is based on a theory of control by isothermal zones which has been emphatically rejected by Prof. Elliot Smith in his Galton Lecture, 1924 (summarized in "Nature," 23rd Feb., 1924, p. 291). The view of the desirability of Australian-Chinese intermarriage is opposed to the evidence cited in Chapter X, which shows that the miscegenation of races so different as the Mongolian and Caucasian, as of

either with the Negro, is condemned by most modern eugenists as mischievous and dangerous. The instinct of the nations of northern Europe for the preservation of their racial purity rests on a sound basis. The balance of the evidence, alike biological, ethnographic, and historical, and of contemporary scientific opinion is that the interbreeding of widely different races of mankind produces inferior offspring; this result is in part due to a "chaotic constitution," which would be common to man and lower animals, and in part to psychologic factors which are detrimental to the upbringing of hybrid children.

The admission of Asiatics to Australia is unnecessary for the development of its tropical regions, for the evidence summarized in Chapter VIII shows that there is nothing in climate to prevent the development of the tropical lands by white labour. The development of the more barren areas of Australia must, however, be slow and costly, owing to the geographical drawbacks of remoteness from markets, poverty of the soils, and unsatisfactory seasonal distribution of rainfall. These factors would be as hampering to the settlement of the country by coloured labour as by white. -Wherever in Asia and Africa the people have been faced by similar difficulties the lands have been left unoccupied. There is no reason why Australia should be told that unless it develops its bad lands at once it would forfeit its right to them, while they are allowed to remain derelict in other continents, where many of them are better adapted for cultivation than in Australia. While Siberia, Manchuria, and Mongolia are sparsely populated—while in India the fertile lands of Burma have a population of only 57 per square mile, the third largest state of Rajputana a population of 5 per square mile, and Beluchistan only 8 per square mile—while in South America 70 per cent of Brazil has a population of less than 5 to the square mile, and while half of Canada has a population of about 1 to 100 square miles—there is no justification for the idea that it is discreditable of Australia to have large areas unoccupied.

The admission of the Asiatic into Australia would not secure the profitable development of the less easily subdued areas ; their settlement is more likely to be successful if it takes place slowly, by overflow from the southern and eastern states, just as the less accessible and more arid districts in the United States were broken in after the easily occupied lowlands had been well peopled.

The dense populations of eastern Asia are a more valuable asset to northern Australia as a market for produce than as a source of labour. A few Asiatic people like the Turkoman and Tibetans are good stockmen ; but they are too few in number to make full use of their own lands ; and the Asiatics of whom there is an excess available for emigration are far less suitable for the development of the pastoral areas of Australia than the adaptable, adventurous European.

Each of the races of mankind has its special merits and has made its own contribution to the progress of the world. The ethical basis of civilization has been supplied by the Asiatic, to whom is due all the chief religions—Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. For the material basis of civilization, iron, the world is probably indebted to the Negro. The scientific and administrative genius of the European race has discovered how the forces and materials of Nature can be made most fully available for the service of man.

The view is sometimes expressed that there is no real difference between European people and other races, because no absolute dividing-line can be drawn between them.

A European may have a dark complexion, curly hair, and thick lips, and in such a man there may be no single physical, mental, or moral feature to distinguish him from the Negro. There is, however, no absolute distinction between good and bad, wet and dry, or light and darkness ; yet the difference between these conditions is of great practical importance. The most striking mental characteristic of the European as compared with men of other races

is his initiative. That character is not so constant that it can be used as a test of individuals ; for few Europeans have had greater driving force than Attila, Genghiz Khan, and the Zulu king, Chaka.

In ability the European is probably not materially superior to members of other races who have had an equal training and opportunity. In mental acumen an able Hindu is not inferior to the European ; and for originality and inventiveness the sum of Chinese contributions is probably not surpassed by that of any other nation. Individual enterprise and initiative and practical insight in the application of brain power to the work of the world have, however, given the European success in material development beyond that of any other race.

The future progress of mankind requires the continued co-operation of all races and nations ; and their harmonious combination will be more profitably secured through the conference of individuals than by association in mass. Interracial goodwill can be spread by envoys, including rational representatives appointed to secure international understanding, by teachers spreading the light of culture from race to race, by missionaries whose interests are with the mass of the nation to which they go, and by traders whose success depends on the prosperity of the communities they serve. Individual concourse, in spite of occasional personal friction, is on the whole so useful that it should be encouraged between representatives of all suitable sections of the different nations. Association in mass, on the other hand, leads to jealousy, strife, and race hatred, which is the offspring of fear and that physical repulsion which comes from the contact of aliens under conditions unfavourable to the growth of friendly feelings. Sympathetic intercourse between selected individuals, combined with the segregation of each race as a whole, may be expected to lead to a happier and more peaceful world than the jarring friction inevitable when dissimilar people meet in competition for their daily bread. If the racial segregation

which the world has inherited from the past is confirmed instead of being broken down by the modern ease of transport, Europe, North America, and Australia would naturally be the chief homes of the white race. Considering its contributions to humanity, that would not be an unfair share. If the white man can secure these continents as his home he can, for the benefit of all, continue to conquer the forces of Nature and thereby strengthen the broad foundations of civilization.

¹ The South American hybrid, according to Prof Griffith Taylor (1924, p. 481), should be a much finer specimen of humanity than the American of practically pure Spanish descent, "since the low Iberian blood of the Spaniard is mingled with the higher type (akin to Polynesian) to which many of the Amerinds belong "

² A series of contemporary pictures of Eastern Bengal which show the disturbed condition of the country and the insecurity of the people before the advent of the British, has been collected by Prof Dines Chandra Sen, under the title, "Eastern Bengal Ballads," Mymensingh, published by the University of Calcutta, cf. e.g., Vol I, Pt I, 1923, pp 170-2.

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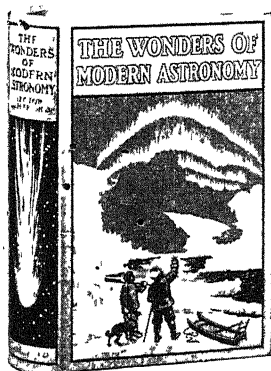
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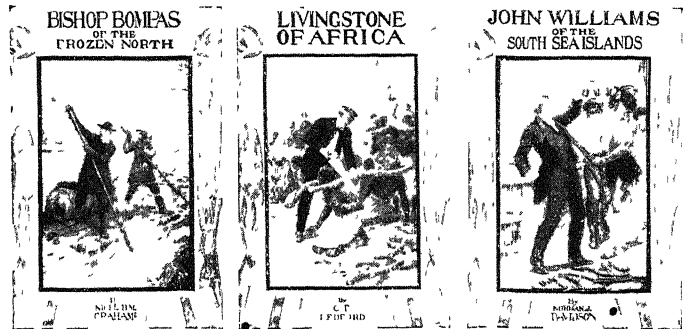
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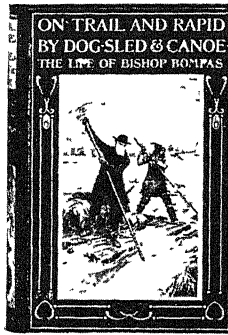
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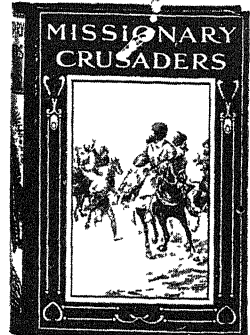
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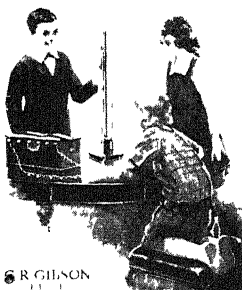
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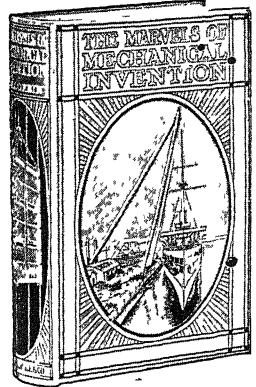
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